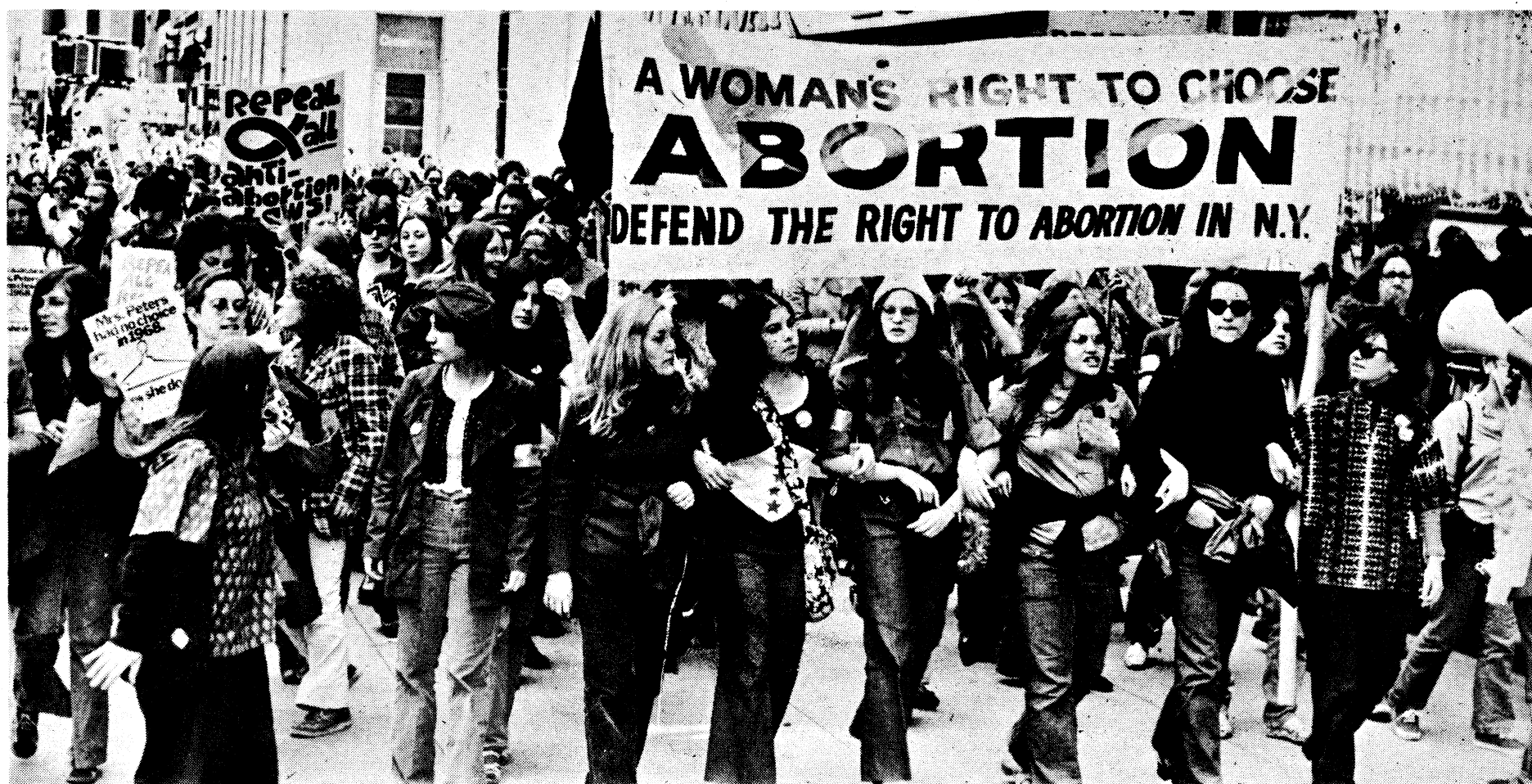


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Air war against Vietnam is the most intense ever

—page 3



May 6 march for right to abortion in New York. National abortion conference called for July 15-16 in New York will discuss alternative strategies for abortion movement. See page 4.

Thousands support socialist ballot drive

--66,000 signatures in Mass.
--Penn. petition drive launched

—page 14, 15



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THE MILITANT

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PLUGGING AWAY FOR THE 'LITTLE PEOPLE': The quest to represent the average American has resulted in expenditures of \$9.3-million so far by McGovern, Wallace, and Humphrey. McGovern has dumped \$5-million worth of fertilizer onto the grass roots, according to the June 13 *New York Times*.

96th ANNIVERSARY: June 25 is the 96th anniversary of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, also known as "Custer's Last Stand."



Sitting Bull

CASTRO EMBARRASSES POLISH BUREAUCRATS: Fidel Castro's visit to Poland didn't go over too well, according to the June 14 *New York Times*. "For one thing," the *Times* explains, "Mr. Castro spent much of his public-speaking time castigating the United States and President Nixon, only a week after the President had visited Warsaw. Then there was the Cracow incident, when Mr. Castro canceled a reception in order to play baseball."

"In Gdansk, asked if Cuba would follow the lead of . . . China, the Soviet Union and Poland in inviting Mr. Nixon to Havana, Mr. Castro surprised no one when he said, 'Never.'"

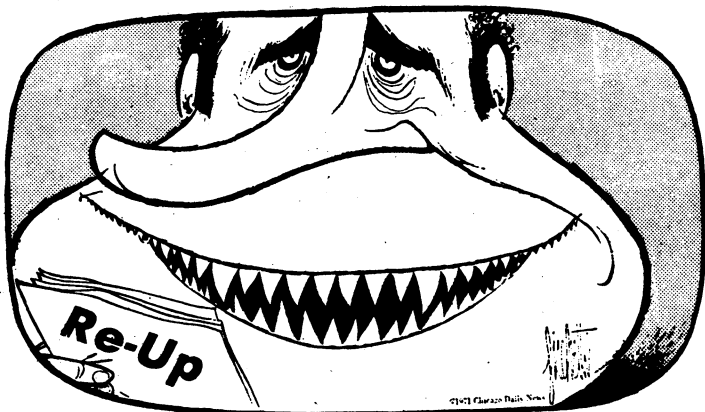
SANTA BRANCHES OUT: The June 9 *Los Angeles Times* reports that the Marathon Manufacturing Company will reopen a Waco, Texas, factory to manufacture metal bomb casing under a new \$5.75-million federal contract. Marathon also produces Christmas-tree ornaments.

U.S. "ECOLOGICAL IMAGE" SUFFERS: The U.S. State Department announced on June 6 that it was "deeply disturbed" by the interjection of the Vietnam issue into the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, in his remarks to the conference, said that:

"The immense destruction brought about by indiscriminate bombing, by large-scale use of bulldozers and herbicides is an outrage sometimes described as ecocide, which requires urgent international attention."

The State Department said that Vietnam was an "extraneous issue."

AMERICAN ROULETTE: The Army and Marine Corps are now offering cash enlistment bonuses of \$1,500 to men who sign up for combat arms units—infantry, artillery, and armor. Ten percent of the men in armor and infantry were killed in Vietnam in 1968. The overall death rate for Americans in Vietnam has been 1.5 percent.



"Hi, there . . ."

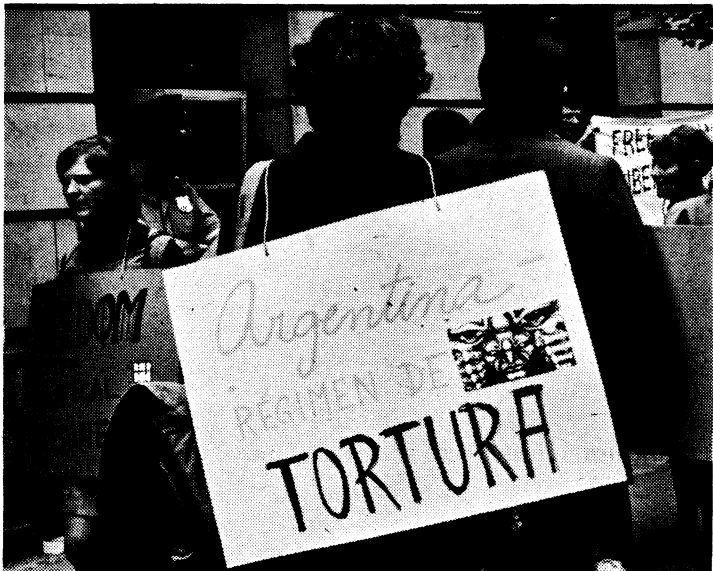
MEANY AND THE 'SOCIALISTS': *New America*, the newspaper of the Socialist Party, devoted its May 31 issue to "a tribute to George Meany," who received the League for Industrial Democracy's Annual Award on April 28. Although AFL-CIO President Meany is well-known for his support to the War in Vietnam and has attacked Nixon from the right on the question of the China trip, *New America* managed to avoid these issues.

JUSTICE FOR ALL? About 100 people participated in a June 7 demonstration organized in New York by the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA). The demonstration was called to protest the fact that Michael Maye, president of the Uniformed Firefighters Association, was not charged with assault in the severe beating of a GAA member on April 15. While Maye was charged with "harassment," a minor charge similar to a traffic violation, two GAA members at the demonstration were held on assault charges for allegedly struggling with police. Another GAA member has been charged with "trespass" as a result of the April 15 demonstration that Maye attacked.

THE MILITANT GETS REPRINTED: Issue number two of the *New Community Journal*, published in Bowling Green, Ohio, reprinted an article on the Vietnamese offensive by Dick Roberts from the May 5 *Militant*.

The Great Speckled Bird, an underground newspaper published in Atlanta, reprinted Tony Thomas's article on the guerrilla struggle in Guinea-Bissau from the May 12 *Militant* in its May 22 issue.

INADEQUATE PENSION: The May 26 *New York Times* reports that the widow of the late Felix Frankfurter "is quietly approaching insolvency on the \$5,000-a-year pension granted widows of Supreme Court Justices." By next year she may be forced to become a charity patient. Her plight is particularly revealing in that the average wage of workers in private industry in 1970, before taxes, was only \$6,212.



A June 6 picket line at the Argentine consulate in New York, organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), demanded the release of Casiana Ahumada. Ahumada, an Argentine editor, has been imprisoned solely for her political views. A demonstration was also held in Washington, D.C., on the same day. In another sign of the support for Ahumada, Angela Davis recently sent her a telegram of solidarity.

SUIT BARES N.J. PRISON CONDITIONS: R. Merrill Speller had seven months left to serve of an eight-year prison sentence. On March 16 he was involved in a fight with guards in the Vroom Building in Trenton, N.J., which is used as a detention and medical facility for prisoners judged to be insane. He was put into a punishment cell and was found strangled later that day. Speller had officially committed suicide.

However, two pathologists quoted in the June 4 *New York Times* have indicated that cases of self-strangulation are "extremely rare," and that "strangling should be assumed to be homicidal, unless the contrary is shown more likely." Speller's letters to David Rothenburg, a member of the Fortune Society, bore frequent references to threats and beatings he had suffered.

Speller's family has brought suit against a number of New Jersey officials, charging them with responsibility in his death. It is widely believed that sane, but "troublesome," inmates are sometimes confined in the Vroom Building. A number of men in solitary confinement because of their alleged involvement in recent prison uprisings have written to the Fortune Society, expressing fears that they will be sent to the Vroom Building.

U.S. TO DROP BERRIGAN CASE? In a June 14 article, *Washington Post* staff writer Sanford J. Ungar reports that "The Justice Department is expected to announce this week that it will drop all remaining charges against the Rev. Phillip Berrigan and his six co-defendants. . . ."

Justice Department officials, Ungar says, "feel they could not win a conviction in a new trial," and the prosecution team was said to be "very discouraged."

—DAVE FRANKEL

U.S. tries to seal off N. Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 13—Three U.S. B-52s can obliterate an area more than half a mile wide and nearly two miles long. There are more than 100 B-52s and over 1,000 U.S. warplanes altogether in the forces now striking North and South Vietnam daily. It is difficult to imagine the extent of the U.S. bombing devastation.

"United States military leaders are being permitted to wage the air war as they want in Indochina," *New York Times* correspondent Neil Sheehan reported from Washington June 9. The aim is "sealing off North Vietnam's coast and harbors with mines, followed by the systematic and relatively un-

the rest of the world have been almost completely closed off since May 8. . . ."

Times Washington correspondent Sheehan also states that "In South Vietnam, meanwhile, a ferocious bombardment—on a par with the previous peak in 1968—is attempting to eliminate the 150,000 North Vietnamese troops there and to destroy what supplies they have stocked in battlefield areas."

In a Washington news conference June 8, Vice Admiral William P. Mack, former commander of the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific, boasted that fewer targets are considered off limits than in past campaigns. "In '68 we really didn't pursue this to the end," Mack stated. Lieutenant General George Eade observed in the same conference that five U.S. attacks on electrical power systems in North Vietnam were of "particular importance."

North Vietnamese officials have repeatedly asserted that U.S. bombers have been hitting the vital system of dikes in the Red River delta. Although this has been denied by the Pentagon, a French geographer explained in the influential Paris daily *Le Monde*, June 7-8, how indirect U.S. bombing strikes some distance away from the dikes, can sap their strength and eventually cause their collapse.

Yves Lacoste, who previously reported on the U.S. bombing of dikes for the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal in 1967, wrote that when the North Vietnamese attempted to repair the damage caused to the dikes by these distant bombing hits, the civilians would be shelled by U.S. anti-personnel fragmentation bombs.

Bomb to ruins

A battlefield correspondent described typical U.S. bombing support in South Vietnam. "The Communists began their attack on Datdo the night of May 24 by entering the town, apparently with the help of residents," Fox Butterfield reported in a dispatch to the June 12 *New York Times*.

"When the battle had ended two weeks later, the Communist troops' bunkers were found full of food, freshly prepared for them by sympathetic townspeople who had stayed behind. This was in spite of the government's ordering all residents out of town."

A Saigon army official explained to Butterfield that "After five days, we had to make use of air power or we would never get rid of the Communists."

Butterfield continued, "The Communists were pushed out, but almost every building in Datdo was severely

damaged by the bombing or shell fire. Major Lam estimated that 16,000 of the town's 25,000 residents were now refugees."

Another *Times* correspondent, writing from Saigon, emphasized the failure of "Vietnamization." According to Charles Mohr, "The enormous use of American air power has been a vital ingredient in the defense. Even the most optimistic officers and civilian officials said that only the bombing had prevented a South Vietnamese collapse in early April."

In this June 11 "news analysis," Mohr contended, "It is virtually impossible to find any really experienced adviser in Vietnam who thinks that the southern forces can match the northerners in the qualities of leadership, aggressiveness or, above all, motivation. One American adviser, who had been making frequent optimistic remarks, recently said in conversation, 'The North Vietnamese are probably the finest troops anywhere in the world today—better than the Israelis, the Russians, the Chinese or us.'"

'Pacification'

In an effort apparently designed to conceal U.S. control of the "pacification" program in South Vietnam, one of the long-standing U.S. agencies in Saigon is being closed out. This is the "Joint United States Public Affairs Office," which headed "psychological and political" warfare in South Vietnam. Its actual operations were indicated by *Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne, June 12:

"Reflecting the basically military character of the organization," says Browne, "there were more American military men than American civilians working for it, although it was always directed by a civilian from the United States Information Agency."

The organization developed key American tactics, including pacification. It organized a "campaign of selective terror," Browne reports, "directed at known Vietcong agents, seeking to kill them in ambushes or in their beds and making sure the lessons were not lost on local residents."

This grim reminder of one of the central U.S. operations in Vietnam helps explain why two and a half months of the heaviest bombing in the war have failed to stem the revolutionary advance. *U.S. News*, one of the most hawkish newsweeklies, draws the following balance June 19:

"... neither side shows any intention of giving up the battle. All signs point toward more bitter warfare into the indefinite future."

Militant begins internat'l supplement next week

By DOUG JENNESS

Beginning with its next issue, *The Militant* will take an important step forward. We are adding a four-page international section, which will be called *World Outlook*. As a revolutionary-socialist newspaper *The Militant* is strongly internationalist in its outlook. The more the paper can reflect this, the more effective we feel it will be. We also think that this new step will make our coverage of important world events the most extensive of any radical weekly in the country and will help to increase the paper's circulation.

The articles in this section will include selections from *Intercontinental Press*, a weekly international news magazine published in New York. Expressing the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism, *IP* specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, national independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Among the articles that will be reprinted from *IP* are some of those on the struggle in Northern Ireland and the growing resistance movement in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The articles in *World Outlook* will supplement the articles written by *Militant* staff members on the Vietnam war or any country where major struggles demand analysis and coverage.



First issue of new *Militant* supplement will carry interview with Chinese Trotskyist leader Peng Shu-tse.

In the first issue of the *World Outlook* supplement we are planning to print the first part of a recent interview with Peng Shu-tse, a founder of the Chinese Communist Party and a founding leader of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. Peng describes the early years of the Chinese CP, the defeat of the 1926-27 revolution, and the roles of Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai at that time. A subsequent issue will carry the second part of the interview.

To make sure that you don't miss any of these special features, subscribe now. If you have a subscription that is about to expire, you should renew it right away. There is a subscription blank on page 23.

Sihanouk warning

The Soviet Union has proposed a Geneva-type conference to settle the war in Indochina, according to Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's former head of state. Sihanouk's statement was carried in a special dispatch in the June 7 *New York Times*.

In the 1954 Geneva Accords, both Moscow and Peking pressed the Vietnamese revolutionists to settle for an imperialist foothold in "South Vietnam." This betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution paved the way for the subsequent 18 years of slaughter as Washington used the Saigon regime as a launching pad for counter-revolution in Southeast Asia.

According to the *Times*, Sihanouk said North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front, and the Pathet Lao opposed a new Geneva conference. The *Times* also said that Sihanouk had asked China to do the same.

restricted destruction of military and industrial targets throughout the country."

According to Sheehan, "Nixon Administration officials say they intend to deny North Vietnam any sea-borne goods that are essential to its long-term war effort. . . . They also plan bombing attacks from aircraft carriers "to try to reduce the flow of weapons, ammunition, petroleum, food, clothing, medical supplies and other goods moving by alternate routes."

According to the June 19 *U.S. News & World Report*, "U.S. commanders say North Vietnam's access routes to

Victory in Florida abortion case

By CINDY JAQUITH

JUNE 14—Shirley Johnson (Wheeler) is free! The Florida Supreme Court has overturned her July 13, 1971, conviction for having an "illegal" abortion. The decision marks an important victory for the abortion law repeal movement, particularly at a time when anti-abortion forces are intensifying their attacks.

Found guilty on charges of manslaughter, Johnson was sentenced last October to two years' probation. The judge told her she must either marry the man she was living with or move to North Carolina to live with her family.

Attorney Nancy Stearns filed a motion for summary reversal of Johnson's conviction after the Florida Supreme Court ruled last February that

the law used to convict her was unconstitutional. (The Florida legislature has since passed a new restrictive abortion law.) Johnson says that state attorney Howard Smith may attempt to retry her under another section of the abortion statute.

Johnson's case became well known due to a vigorous defense campaign waged in her behalf by the women's movement. Demonstrations, picketlines and petition campaigns were organized by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) and were cosponsored by many abortion law repeal and women's liberation groups around the country.

In a phone interview today, Johnson told *The Militant* that these actions in her defense "had a great impact." "I think they helped my case a great deal," she said.



Shirley Johnson (Wheeler)

Abortion rights struggle shows need for mass-action approach

By CAROLINE LUND

The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) has called the third national abortion action conference for July 15 and 16. This conference offers an opportunity to evaluate the stage of the struggle for the right to abortion and its importance in the context of the general fight of women for liberation.

A controversy has arisen within WONAAC over the reasons for the lack of unity of women's groups behind the abortion struggle and the relatively small size of WONAAC's Nov. 20, 1971, march on Washington (3,000) and the May 6 abortion demonstrations around the country.

This question has come up in the context of increasing mobilization of anti-abortion forces—reflected in the

movement. Three distinct but overlapping approaches have emerged, with differing perspectives on how to win liberation for women.

As the elections approached, a significant section of the women's movement began to turn away from organizing independent actions around specific demands. NOW and the NWPC oriented toward working within the Democratic and Republican parties—parties dominated by the interests of big business. They tended to counterpose this electoral activity to mobilizing masses of women in action against the sexist policies of the Democratic and Republican party politicians and the government. Their slogan was "From women's liberation to equal participation in political power."

the right to abortion and other demands. This sector has oriented toward creating new life styles and new institutions to serve the needs of women. They counterpose this perspective to that of making demands on the government.

The activities of these women—such as abortion referral or setting up small day-care centers—have helped small numbers of women but do not change the position of the masses of women.

Dissatisfaction with this perspective has developed in some places. For instance, the staff of *Ain't I a Woman?*, a women's liberation newspaper published by a collective of women in Iowa City, Iowa, wrote in its Oct. 15, 1971, issue that "none of our activities has led to anything—any higher level of struggle." They write, "we feel starving for new directions."

Both of these sections of the movement—NOW and the NWPC, as well as the life style-counterinstitution sector—have not recognized the lessons that can be drawn from the history of the women's liberation struggle. This history shows that the mass-action perspective—the perspective of looking to the power of women themselves—has been the most effective in forcing changes.

This lesson is illustrated in the abortion struggle, for example. Abortion reform groups existed before the rise of the women's liberation movement, but these groups were small and mainly oriented to education and lobbying. They did not make much progress.

The big change came when the women's liberation movement took up this struggle. For the first time abortion was demanded as a basic human right to enable women to decide the course of their very lives.

Four suits were launched against the old New York abortion law, including a class-action suit involving hundreds of women. A new organization, People to Abolish Abortion Laws, sponsored a demonstration of 3,000 on March 28, 1970, calling for free abortion on demand. In response to the suits and the demonstration, the New York legislature was pressured into passing the liberalized abortion law that went into effect in July 1970.

At the time, Governor Rockefeller himself admitted that passage of the new law was largely due to the women's movement.

Visible actions

The third approach in the women's movement is represented by the sector that has continued to build independent, visible actions openly challenging the right of the government to oppress women and demanding that the wealth, institutions, and laws of society be transformed to serve women's needs.

Actions have been organized around many issues of concern to women. But those organized around abortion have been among the most important struggles—partly because it was on this issue that a reactionary movement was mobilizing to stop women from making gains.

This mass-struggle tendency in the women's movement took a big step forward with the first national abortion conference that founded WONAAC in July 1971. The theme of this conference was capsulized by Janet Wingo of the Detroit Welfare Rights Organization when she said, "We need a na-

tionwide action, a plan to unite!"

Two things were new about WONAAC. First, WONAAC decided to make abortion a national issue. It decided not to let the federal government off the hook, pointing out that the federal government had the power to assure abortion on demand and therefore was equally responsible with the state legislatures for denying it to women. Women felt that a national abortion campaign would strengthen efforts on the state level.

Another significant decision of its first conference was that WONAAC would be an action organization.

Other abortion groups already existed that were oriented almost exclusively toward lobbying. It was felt that WONAAC could make a unique contribution by organizing mass actions of women in addition to legislative work.

In line with this, WONAAC has continued throughout the current election period to organize visible actions around this issue. It has built teach-ins and debates with anti-abortion people. It has initiated and coordinated numerous class-action suits against abortion laws across the country. It has demonstrated against state legislatures and mobilized women for legislative hearings on abortion laws.

WONAAC cooperated with Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) in preparing the National Abortion Rights Act, which is presently in Congress. This bill can be an important focus for the entire women's movement to demand that the federal government take action on this question.

Through its activities over the past year WONAAC also came to appreciate the power of raising abortion as an international issue. By calling international abortion actions on Nov. 20 and May 6, WONAAC has helped inspire the abortion fight and the women's liberation movement in other countries—just as actions of women in France, Germany, and other countries have inspired women here.

When the anti-abortion forces were mobilizing in New York, it was WONAAC that provided women with the opportunity to answer the right wing with the May 6 march. The WONAAC demonstration received considerable coverage on TV, in the newspapers, and on the radio. Thousands of people learned that there were women who were prepared to fight for this right.

WONAAC has provided a unique vehicle for women who want to struggle on this issue, including those who are also involved in the elections or in counseling but feel this is not enough.

The limited size of WONAAC's actions has reflected the abstention of a segment of the women's movement from the abortion struggle, under the impact of the elections. The task before the coming WONAAC conference will be to reaffirm the goal of reaching out to the masses of women in this country. This means uniting the women's movement, to the extent possible, to maintain and deepen visible struggle on this issue.

It has never been more clear that women are going to have to wage an all-out fight to win the right to abortion. The government is not going to grant it out of the goodness of its heart. On this issue women are combatting some of the most deep-seated prejudices against women spawned by

Continued on page 22



Nov. 20 WONAAC demonstration in San Francisco

Militant/Jude Coren

anti-abortion march of 10,000 in New York and the recent passage of new anti-abortion laws by the New York and Connecticut legislatures. (The New York bill was subsequently vetoed by Governor Rockefeller.)

In response to the large anti-abortion demonstration and the reactionary moves of the New York legislature—aided by the intervention of President Nixon—the WONAAC demonstration in New York on May 6, although significant, was a modest 1,500 people.

The largest women's organizations—the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC)—were largely uninvolved in building this action, although individual women from these groups participated.

Why hasn't the women's movement been able to unite and bring to bear its full potential power to meet these challenges from the anti-abortion forces? To answer this question it is necessary to step back and look at the situation in the women's movement as a whole.

On the one hand, the impact of the women's liberation movement has spread to practically every corner of the country and even around the world. The major demands of the movement have become national issues, to one extent or another.

Three approaches

But at the same time, under the impact of the 1972 election period, a political differentiation has taken place within the organized women's

In line with this orientation, for example, NOW has announced it will not initiate a demonstration this year on Aug. 26 as it has for the past two years. Instead, wrote Jacqui Ceballos, NOW's eastern regional director, in the June issue of *Majority Report*, "Many groups around the [country] will have street fairs, art shows, etc. on Saturday [Aug. 26] to raise money and have fun."

"We in NOW," writes Ceballos, "are going to focus on the political scene."

On Aug. 26, 1970, when NOW did throw itself into building a demonstration for women's demands, some 35,000 women turned out in New York in a powerful show of force. If NOW and the NWPC had put the same effort into building the Nov. 20 and May 6 abortion actions, these demonstrations could easily have matched the large anti-abortion marches and had a much bigger impact.

Effect of the elections

The elections have also affected other movements for social change, such as the antiwar movement. Independent struggles tend to be weakened during the election period because the ruling class goes on a major campaign to convince people to place their trust in the promises of Democratic and Republican party politicians. This discourages people from depending on their own power, the power of popular mass actions, to force changes.

There is another section of the women's movement that has also abstained from mobilizing women to fight for

New crisis for Chile's regime

Allende's cops shoot leftists in Concepcion

From Intercontinental Press
By DAVID THORSTAD

A serious rift has developed within the Popular Unity coalition headed by Salvador Allende. At the heart of the dispute are strategic differences over how to meet the growing challenge from the Chilean right.

The current crisis came to a head as a result of events that occurred in the city of Concepción May 12. At that time the city's mayor, Vladimir Chávez, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist party, authorized a group of special police belonging to the Carabineer Corps to disperse violently a demonstration of workers and students. In the process, the Carabineers (whose dissolving was one of the planks of the program that brought Allende to power) killed one student, Eladio Caamaño Sobarzo, and left approximately fifty persons—including several police—wounded, some seriously. A number of persons were arrested, all members of left-wing organizations.

The opposition Christian Democratic party had applied for and received permission from Chávez to stage an antigovernment march in Concepción May 12. As in the case of similar marches in the past, the march had the support of the right-wing National party and the fascist-like "Fatherland and Liberty" movement, according to a report by Manuel Cableses Donoso in the May 23 issue of the weekly magazine *Punto Final*. With the exception of the Communist party and the API (Acción Popular Independiente—Independent People's Action), the parties belonging to the Popular Unity coalition applied for their own permit to stage a counter-march. The MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) also applied for a permit. Chávez gave authorization for only the Christian-Democratic march.

In light of this, the MIR, the Socialist party, the Radical party, the Christian Left, and the MAPU (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—

Movement for United People's Action) met and unanimously decided to organize a mass popular demonstration to prevent what they characterized as a fascist march from taking place. According to the report in *Punto Final*, they immediately obtained the backing of the provincial CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union), the federations of secondary and university students, the Provincial Peasants Council, and the textile and coal workers' unions.

At the last minute, the government intervened to lift Chávez's authorization for the right-wing march. A demonstration was begun nonetheless, and as word reached a meeting of workers and students at the university campus, they too took to the streets. They were savagely attacked by the police.

This is not the first time that the far left in Concepción has suffered at the hands of the Communist party. It was there that MIR member Arnoldo Rios was murdered at the beginning of 1971 by the "Ramona Parra" brigade of the CP.

In the face of the current repression, the four Popular Unity parties and the MIR have maintained their united front. They have issued several joint statements and are demanding that the Carabineer Corps be dissolved and that Mayor Chávez resign.

In one statement, they explained that the purpose of their mobilization was to "show that the people do not and will not allow the right-wing minority to attempt to legitimize its exploitative positions in this proletarian province by marching hysterically through the streets of Concepción" and to "lend the Popular Government the clear support of the mobilized and organized masses, who provide the undeniable basis for its stability."

They added that "The official absence of the Communist Party from the mobilization is something that the people hope will not be repeated, especially now that in Concepción the course of events has brought about a definitive step forward in the unification of the left."



Leaders of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in a funeral march for a slain member.

Shortly after the death of Eladio Caamaño, they issued a statement in which they asked: "Of what value is the portion of power that the people hold through the Popular Government if the repressive apparatus of the state—created and structured by the bourgeoisie in the defense of its own interests—is given free reign to continue to ignore the rights of the people and to join forces with the right wing as if nothing had changed in Chile?"

Within hours of the attack by police in Concepción, Senator Volodia Teitelboim, one of the CP's leading intellectuals, took to the floor of the Senate to condemn "extremism" of both the right and the left. "Much of what he had to say was directed at the Socialist Party," reported *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent James Nelson Goodsell May 23. "His remarks subsequently were sharply attacked by left-leaning militants within the Socialist Party and the quarrel came into the open."

The Political Committee of the Socialist party—which, with the Communist party, is the major force in

the Popular Unity coalition—indicated on May 18 that it "does not share the point of view" of the regional committee of the party in Concepción. Yet along with this rebuke, it also noted that the response of the working class to the mounting opposition of the right "must be an organized and conscious mobilization in order to move forward the revolution and to hold back reaction."

The tone of the statement by the Political Committee of the CP on May 16 contrasted considerably. It noted the seriousness of the fact that "there are right-wing elements whose purpose is to provoke violent confrontations" and that "a serious rift" has opened up within the Popular Unity coalition. At the same time, however, it stated that "the activity of those who are demanding the resignation of the mayor of Concepción constitutes a giveaway to the right and to the ultra-left provocateurs who are united by their anticommunist hatred and their desire to break up the Popular Government. . . .

"Our slogan is this: Together with
Continued on page 22

Quebec labor convention

Union head vows to continue radical line

By TONY THOMAS

QUEBEC, Québec, June 11—The forty-fifth national convention of the CSN (Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—Confederation of National Trade Unions) of Québec opened this evening with an address by Marcel Pepin, its general president.

In his speech, Pepin vowed to continue the radical course of the CSN, its support to socialism and to the Québécois national struggle. This was in response to the defection of several unions with more than 50,000 members from the CSN.

The rival unionists have attacked the Pepin leadership for its political course and have proclaimed themselves "nonpolitical." The majority of the CSN's 210,000 members remain within the Confederation.

Together with the FTQ (Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec—Québec Federation of Labor) and the CEQ (Corporation des Enseignants du Québec—Quebec Teachers Corporation), the CSN formed a Common Front that led the public workers strike in April.

CSN unionists also played a major role in triggering the explosion that

took place in May when Pepin and the leaders of FTQ and CEQ were arrested and an injunction was secured against the public workers strike.

One of the principal aspects of Pepin's speech was his announcement of plans to form "Popular Committees" to intervene in the coming Canadian and Québécois elections. According to Pepin, these committees would "decide . . . either to support one candidate who runs or to propose one. However, the committees will battle any candidate of the Liberal Party [the party in power in Québec and Canada nationally].

"Support for a candidate will depend mainly upon the candidate's formal endorsement of the economic and social positions of the three parent unions [CSN, FTQ, and the CEQ], but more particularly, on the formal condemnation of capitalism and economic liberalism."

This proposal poses the possibility of mass, independent, working-class political action here in Québec, since all the capitalist political parties, including the nationalist Parti Québécois (Québec Party) opposed the CSN's

action during the recent strikes and reject an anticapitalist economic solution here in Québec.

Pepin also proposed that these committees be independently controlled and financed on a local basis and open to workers who are not members of either of the three major confederations. He also said that they would not be formed just for the elections but would be permanent.

Other important questions being placed before the convention include the continuation of the CSN's support for socialism and its position on the Québécois national liberation struggle.

Two important position papers have been adopted by the leadership of the CSN since its last convention that pose a socialist solution for the problems of Québec: One paper is called *Ne Contons que sur Nos Propres Moyens* (Let's Count Only on Our Own Means). The other is entitled *Il n'y a plus d'Avenir pour le Québec dans le Système Economique Actuel* (There Is No Future for Québec in the Current Economic System).

A report from the central executive of the CSN proposes that the conven-

tion endorse the line of these documents. This report also proposes that industry, finance, natural resources, housing, and small businesses be either nationalized or made into cooperatives under workers' control.

A resolution submitted by the Montréal Central Council of the CSN proposes that the federation adopt a position in support of an independent, socialist, French Québec. This document outlines how the Québécois workers face double oppression—as Québécois and as workers—by Canadian and U.S. imperialism. It points out that the local Québécois capitalists are nothing but "valets of these foreign interests."

Many delegates expect that this resolution will pass at the convention.

These proposals show the high level of political consciousness reached by the Québécois workers as a result of their combined national and class struggles. The discussion of these and other proposals here at the CSN convention should give a balance sheet of how far this consciousness has come as a result of the recent workers' struggles here.

In Our Opinion

Labor and the war

The Labor for Peace conference planned for June 23 and 24 in St. Louis reflects the growth of antiwar sentiment among working people as President Nixon continues to escalate the Vietnam war. The scores of officials from more than 20 unions who have endorsed the conference are feeling the pressure of rank-and-file discontent with the war.

The war is related to many problems facing workers here at home—skyrocketing prices, lay-offs created by budget cutbacks, and government controls on wages. The antiwar movement has consistently pointed to the connection between these problems and U.S. aggression in Indochina.

Working people constitute the vast majority of the U.S. population and about one-fourth of all workers belong to unions. Many unions have substantial financial and organizational resources. If mobilized to participate in antiwar actions, they can be the most powerful component in the fight to force the Washington warmakers out of Indochina.

Labor sponsorship of, and participation in, antiwar demonstrations has increased somewhat over the past several years, with new unions getting involved. Some of the most active support has been in Detroit, where the Detroit AFL-CIO and the Detroit Coalition to End the War cosponsored an antiwar picket line May 4. Last fall, the Detroit AFL-CIO also sponsored a demonstration against the war and the wage freeze. It drew 7,000 people, including many unionists.

The organizers of the St. Louis conference have stated that their purpose is to found a new organization called Labor for Peace. This endeavor will be most effective in helping to end the war if it orients toward mobilizing working people in independent antiwar action. A good beginning would be to help build the Aug. 6-9 antiwar activities on the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In addition, this group could make an important contribution to the antiwar movement by encouraging trade unionists all over the country to participate in the National Peace Action Coalition convention to be held July 21-23 in Los Angeles. This conference, which will involve people from many organizations, will discuss plans for united antiwar protests this fall.

NPAC has been the principal organizer of the largest antiwar demonstrations held in the past three years. Labor for Peace has an opportunity to bring significant new forces into future actions, helping to demonstrate even more forcefully that this war is opposed by the American people.

China threatened

On June 12 the Chinese regime protested U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. For the first time since the escalation of the air war in April, the Chinese statement labeled these attacks "grave provocations against the Chinese people."

The Nixon administration hastened to assure the Chinese that the bombings "are not in any way intended to threaten the security of China."

This is a barefaced lie contradicted by the history of U.S. imperialist aggression. The goal of the U.S. capitalists is to extend their system of exploitation into every corner of the globe. Their aggression is halted only when they are confronted with a counter-struggle; when the oppressed peoples of the world, and the countries where capitalism has been abolished, like China and Russia, defend the gains made in struggles against capitalist oppression.

The inherent aggressive drive of U.S. imperialism was illustrated during the Korean war. There was a threat that U.S. troops would continue their offensive against North Korea right across the Yalu River and into China. The only thing that stopped them was the massive Chinese army that met the U.S. advance and drove it back.

The U.S. policy of attempting to crush popular revolts, as in Vietnam, is part of the imperialist goal of stopping the extension of the socialist revolution to other countries. It also attempts to reverse revolutions that have already taken place, as in North Vietnam, China, Cuba, and the Soviet Union.

The U.S. bombing of North Vietnam is definitely a serious threat to the security of China. But to answer this threat, sharp protests to the U.S. government are not enough.

According to the June 13 Washington Post, "U.S. analysts in Washington" gave the following evaluation of the meaning of the Chinese statement: "The Chinese . . . seem to be hardening their position in order to increase their influence in North Vietnam at the expense of the Soviet Union, whose prestige in Hanoi is thought to have dropped as a result of President Nixon's visit to Moscow."

"So far, however, the Chinese have confined themselves to rhetoric."

Both the Soviet Union and China have followed the general policy of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism.

If the Chinese and Soviet regimes do not unite to back the Vietnamese with the aid necessary, the U.S. will continue to escalate the war.

U.S. planes are now bombing only 40 seconds flying time from the Chinese border. If the U.S. warmakers succeed in crushing the Vietnamese revolution, they will be in a better position to push on against both the Soviet Union and China.

Letters

Nine days in the hole

Estimados hermanos, compañeros:

This letter is to inform you that I am no longer in the prison at Leavenworth.

Due to the "huelga" [strike] there that began March 30, I and 31 brothers were transferred April 8 directly from the hole, where we had spent nine days without bathing, without mattresses to sleep on, and with all kinds of derogatory harassment.

The cages we were forced into housed at the maximum two, yet 13 and up to 15 men were occupying them. No human being with any kind of respect for human life would force even an animal to spend one hour in such filthy cages.

I want very much to continue receiving *The Militant*, but all periodicals that are of that same caliber never reach our hands. They are destroyed by the prison officials for reasons I cannot understand. If there is anything that can be done from your side to stop the destruction of this very informative and constructive people's newspaper so that it may reach my hands safely, please do so.

Hope to hear from you soon. Receive from all of us *un tremedote abrazo fraternal! Hasta la victoria siempre!* [a tremendous fraternal embrace! Yours until the final victory!]

*Your brother and comrade
Marion, Ill.*

Waiting for next copy

I received your letter about my subscription, and I would like very much to receive the paper again. Although I am in California now, I am sure that there are people here who are interested in true news.

Here at this institution I found that the fellows were not aware of your paper, so I shared the copy I had received. Now there are a lot of them waiting for me to receive my next paper.

*A prisoner
Terminal Island
San Pedro, Calif.*

Rats, roaches, and racism

I received your letter today concerning my subscription. I want to renew it because there definitely isn't anything I enjoy more than reading *The Militant*.

Concerning this place (prison). This is a hellhole. The majority of the prison staff is racist. The first thing an inmate wakes up to is harassment. At 5:45 in the morning a guard is beating the bars. Get up, stand up for count!

The place is full of roaches and rats. Kill one roach and a dozen show up to cart the body off. Don't buy anything from the canteen and try to save it for a couple of hours. When you look, the roaches are in it.

*A prisoner
Raleigh, N. C.*

Massachusetts petitioning

Recently, I was petitioning to put the Jenness-Pulley slate on the ballot in Massachusetts. In general, the response was very good—most people either favored another party on the ballot or at least supported the right of the Socialist Workers Party to be heard.

There was one group of individuals, however, who were surprisingly hostile. These were the hard-core Democrats who support McGovern. Most of them had heard about the SWP's campaign. Every one of these types—one was even a McGovern

delegate to the Democratic Party convention—refused to sign the SWP petitions on the basis that the Jenness-Pulley ticket would take votes away from their candidate.

Asked if they would at least support the basic democratic right of the SWP to be on the ballot and the democratic right of the people of Massachusetts to have a choice—these professional McGovern people would still refuse. Wallace people also refused to sign because we were socialists.

Of course, the response of many young McGovern supporters was very friendly. They viewed the SWP as a new party with an interesting program for radical change. After signing our petitions, many of them took copies of the SWP platform and indicated they would seriously consider voting SWP in November.

*S. C.
Boston, Mass.*

Bessie Bloch

My mother, Bessie Bloch, was a subscriber to *The Militant* and a contributor to the Socialist Workers Party from 1940 until May 27 of this year, when she died. She didn't agree with many things in the party's program, especially in the later years of her life when she developed an emotional attachment to Israel. But there was one basic principle she shared with the party, and that was the need for a revolution in the United States and the need for a revolutionary party to lead it. It was this which kept her contributing to the Socialist Workers Party.

My mother's life could have read like those of thousands of other Jewish women who came from eastern Poland before the First World War and worked in the garment shops; who helped organize the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and founded the Workmen's Circle and other such organizations; who raised a family and then became conservatized. But there was an added dimension to my mother's life, and it was this that made her a different and dissatisfied person throughout her whole life.

There were two boys and six girls in her family—the children of a rabbi, who was seldom home, and a typical Orthodox mother, who ran a small store. They lived in a unique settlement. In the mid-nineteenth century the czar had granted land in a remote area to 24 Jewish families on the condition that they live there and cultivate it.

The two boys, as was the custom, were sent away to study in the religious schools at an early age, and the oldest girl took care of the small amount of farming that had to be done. The other girls were permitted an unusual amount of freedom. They rode horseback, climbed trees, and wandered through the forest.

Into this atmosphere came a very well educated young cousin, exiled to this remote community for his revolutionary activities. He immediately set up a course of study for these eager girls. Science and mathematics were his main academic interests. He taught them everything he knew.

My mother learned Russian thoroughly, mathematics all the way through calculus, and the natural sciences, especially botany. They carried through complicated experiments with silkworms. My mother excelled in mathematics. She felt in those early years unlimited possibilities for academic achievement.

But as the years went by, first the struggle to live in America and then the pressure of family life (which placed her in the role of a mother and a wife) drained her of all this

The Great Society

exciting knowledge. She accepted her role in this society, but never graciously. She always knew the tremendous potential that had not been permitted to flourish.

Ethel Bloch
New York, N.Y.

CP and gay liberation

Jarvis Tyner's [Communist Party vice-presidential candidate] and Roque Risturucci's [editor of the *Young Worker*] statements on gay liberation prove how little they and the Young Workers Liberation League know about the new radicalization going on around them. Like the rest of the Communist Party, they refuse to understand the vast changes in today's society.

Tyner finds gay liberation to be "left opportunism, petty-bourgeois individualism." He says gay liberation doesn't deal with racism. I'm sure when he says "white radicals," are often sidetracked, he doesn't know that in Chicago, and probably other cities, the largest gay liberation groups are Black Gay Liberation and Gay Women's Caucus.

As for "pushing homosexuality as revolutionary," most gay liberation activists have said no such thing. If Tyner wants to deny that oppression, including the oppression of gays, makes a revolutionary, let him. He will be proved wrong as more and more gays join the struggle against the system that oppresses them.

By calling gay rights, feminism, and Black nationalism "the most reactionary aspects of bourgeois ideology," Risturucci has shown his ignorant contempt for movements that do not fit his own pro-Moscow dreams. By attacking the battle against sexism and racism, he attacks the millions in those struggles, allying himself and the YWLL with America's Nixons, Agnews, Wallaces, proving YWLL to be an echo of capitalist society.

As a founding member of YWLL, disgusted early by their pseudoradical, pro-Democratic Party hypocrisy, I find no real alternative to capitalism in their "solution." They merely mimic Gus Hall mimicking Brezhnev.

Richard Chinn
Fiery Flames Collective
Chicago, Ill.

Panthers eye McGovern

In his column "By Any Means Necessary" May 26, Derrick Morrison discussed Huey Newton's announcement that the Black Panther Party was supporting Shirley Chisholm in the Democratic presidential primaries.

In the same statement Newton also opened the way for Panther support to George McGovern. His statement said:

"Shirley Chisholm is opposed by Hubert Humphrey. (Progressives like George McGovern follow in Congresswoman Chisholm's footsteps.)"

I don't know where McGovern is supposed to be following Shirley Chisholm, but it's pretty clear that the Panther leadership is following in the footsteps of all those who get into the Democratic Party "just a little bit."

Harry Ring
Los Angeles, Calif.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Tomb of the Unknown Adviser?—Congress may never have declared war in Vietnam, but the House has adopted a bill providing for the burial in Arlington Cemetery of an unknown soldier of the Vietnam war.

Back to nature—Abercrombie-Fitch, the sporting-goods people, are offering a \$900 tent featuring two bedrooms and a separate tradesmen's entrance.

The Princeton Papers—The Center for Analysis of Public Issues, a Princeton research group, made public a secret 1970 study by the New Jersey Department of Health that showed that 82 percent of the state's restaurants were unsanitary. A department spokesman conceded this was true but explained that federal standards had been used in the survey and that these were being reexamined because they might be too strict. Meanwhile, we trust the Princeton people are organizing a defense committee.

The American dream—To cope with car-cluttered streets, a Cincinnati suburb is requiring that new houses be built with two-car garages.

To make the world safe—Inhabitants of Eniwetok, forced to move 27 years

ago so the U.S. could conduct atomic tests on their homeland, found on their recent return that three of their islands are missing. They were obliterated by nuclear blasts.

Int'l preview—Japan's Technology and Science Agency warned that if atmospheric pollution continues at the present rate, in 50 years all of Tokyo's greenery will be dead. And, they might have added, so will a lot of people.

The poll watchers—The Shoup Voting Machine Co., one of the firms that help keep our elections honest, was convicted of paying more than \$215,000 in bribes to a Louisiana official to ensure purchase of their machines. The court hit them with a whopping fine of \$3,000.

Peace on earth—The UN estimates that more than 23 million people are serving in the world's armed forces and that the global nuclear stockpile is equal to at least 15 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on this planet.

Words-of-wisdom dept—Estimating that the average motorist will spend \$13,500 over the next ten years to buy and maintain a new, standardized sedan, the Federal Highway Ad-

ministration sagely observed: "The purchase price is only the first step in a long line of costs that must be paid."

Good vibes—An ad in the *Los Angeles Times* advises: "Whatever your life-style, your choice of funeral directors should be Pierce Brothers. It makes no difference to us whether you prefer political oratory from outside or inside government—whether you are pro- or anti-establishment—Pierce Brothers will always provide funeral services to meet the exact needs of any life-style."

— HARRY RING



¡La Raza en Acción!



CESAR CHAVEZ'S ENDORSEMENT OF MCGOVERN — AN INCORRECT STRATEGY FOR LA RAZA: A news release issued in Spanish May 19 by the Northern California McGovern headquarters quoted farm workers leader César Chávez: "We ask our friends and sympathizers, especially those in California, to support Senator McGovern in the California primary which will take place June 6, 1972."

As motivation for this endorsement, Chávez listed a series of farm worker struggles that McGovern has supported. He said McGovern "has spoken against repressive anti-labor legislation such as that instituted in Arizona. . . ."



Cesar Chavez speaking at a rally in Phoenix, May 12.

"Senator McGovern has always opposed the war in Vietnam which has taken the lives of so many poor people, especially minority groups."

Sounds good. But Chávez neglects to mention McGovern's consistent votes for the Vietnam war and other "defense" appropriations. He neglects McGovern's support to the idea of wage controls, an antilabor measure that hits hardest the most exploited workers—Blacks, Raza, women.

McGovern's deeds, his votes in the Senate, are in sharp contrast to his rhetoric. And even his rhetoric is being toned down as he maneuvers to line up the support of more party bosses and a larger layer of the rich and super-rich.

McGovern aspires to the presidency to represent the employers, the capitalists, in a more effective way than does Richard Nixon. He shares with Nixon the same basic assumptions that are responsible for the oppression of La Raza: the sanctity of the "free enterprise system," the need to defend U.S. capitalism from attack at home and abroad.

This support by Chávez and the entire United Farm Workers Union (UFW) has not been limited to words of praise. Hundreds of farm workers were sent into East Los Angeles and other barrios to get out the vote for McGovern.

This massive support to a candidate of the Democratic Party comes precisely at a time when Chicanos are in the process of organizing La Raza Unida Party in California. The serious educational work accomplished by the Raul Ruiz campaign last fall significantly undermined the appeal of the Democratic Party among Chicanos in Los Angeles. The May 26 *New York Times* commented that McGovern's campaign had been "sputtering" in the barrio and blamed the influence of the Raza Unida Party for the lack of enthusiastic Chicano youth to walk precincts for McGovern. The support to McGovern by the farm workers was a shot in the arm to the Democratic Party, but it was a great disservice to the Chicano movement.

What has forced Democrats like McGovern to take notice of La Raza? The independent thrust of the Chicano movement. The antiwar moratoriums, the Chicano student movement, the farm workers struggles, the fight against deportations—all have a dynamic independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. The gains we have won stem from these independent struggles. To compromise this independence by supporting any candidates of those parties is to weaken our position.

A final point. Just think what could have been accomplished if those hundreds of farm workers had instead thrown their weight behind the partisans of an independent Chicano party. The difficult task of getting the necessary registrants to put La Raza Unida Party on the California ballot could have been accomplished. Such mobilizations of the UFW, if carried out in cities like Coachella, Calif., where the majority is Chicano, could lead to control of entire city administrations, police departments, and school districts by the UFW and La Raza Unida Party. That, indeed, would be a mighty blow to the growers.

Although the UFW has the potential of making the Raza Unida Party a powerful political force in California—a party that could win control of scores of cities in that state—César Chávez and Dolores Huerta unfortunately chose to divert this energy into support of McGovern, whose interest in La Raza does not go beyond the votes he hopes to get next November.

— ANTONIO CAMEJO

This is the last of four articles assessing the Berkeley April Coalition's first year in office. The coalition, a bloc of movement activists and Democrats, elected three members to the Berkeley City Council in April 1971.

By HARRY RING

Because it did not offer a program to mobilize people in meaningful political struggle for social change, Berkeley's April Coalition was necessarily preordained to degenerate into one more reformist movement for "better government." And, really, that's all it is.

This is hardly a new phenomenon in American politics, even though some of those in the April Coalition pride themselves on being of the "new left."

In the early part of this century and even as late as the 1930s and

the system." The whole job of revolutionaries is to convince people it can't be done this way.

This is not to suggest that socialists and others seeking basic change should not relate to local government or should abstain from the electoral process. Far from it. Utilized as a means of organizing, educating, and mobilizing masses of people, political struggles waged on a municipal basis can be an important factor in developing revolutionary consciousness.

The Raza Unida Party administrations in Crystal City and San Juan, Texas, are perhaps the best example.

There the Chicano people organized and won the city administration. La Raza Unida Party in office has been able to achieve modest benefits for the people. But, more decisive, the process has helped to educate people to the fact that there are very real limits to what can be accomplished under

cessions from the Berkeley establishment. And in the course of such mass demonstrations, rallies, protests, community meetings, the radicals would be educating people as to what the real road to political power is.

But like the "sewer socialists," the April Coalition is a substitute for struggle, not a means of promoting it.

Support by the exploited and oppressed to a capitalist political party, like the Democratic Party, is a form of class-collaboration. It is of no real consequence whether such support is active or tacit. And no matter how radical the rhetoric, capitalists can live with such reformist class-collaborationists when they deem it wise or necessary. Capitalism did not invent the political practice of cooption. But it has developed it into a fine art.

The question was summed up from the point of view of the rich when the

(3%) Peace and Freedom.

Who has taken over whom?

It is also worth noting that many of the radicals who joined in an effort that helped enroll thousands of additional young people in the Democratic Party were of the ultraleft variety.

The people who sneered at mass antiwar demonstrations as not "radical" enough; the people who sneered at the idea of building a revolutionary-socialist party as "irrelevant, old-left dogma"; and the ones who insisted that Telegraph Avenue trashing was the quintessence of revolutionary politics found themselves serving as shills for the imperialist, racist, sexist Democratic Party.

An ironic footnote was added to Lenin's assertion that ultraleftism and opportunism are two sides of the same coin. In Berkeley, it was virtually a simultaneous process, with self-proclaimed "true revolutionaries" leading people from trashing actions to registering as Democrats further on down the street.

It was of course not only ultralefts who helped build the April Coalition. Conscious reformists, like those of the Communist Party, were spirited partisans from the outset. In fact, the only criticism coming from Communist Party sources was that perhaps the April Coalition was a wee bit too radical.

Like Ron Dellums and the machine Democrats, the *People's World*, reflecting the Communist Party viewpoint, has been openly sympathetic to Mayor Widener as well as to Ira Simmons, D'Army Bailey, and Loni Hancock.

While the April Coalition withheld endorsement of Widener because he refused to support the community control referendum, Bettina Aptheker offered a crooked explanation in the May 29, 1971, *PW*. She stated that while Widener didn't endorse the community control plan, he "did not oppose the principle of it. He said he was dissatisfied with some of the specifics in the plan."

A year later, Widener has not offered any alternative "specifics" for community control of the cops.

Actually, as with Dellums, the community control issue meant little to the Communist Party. Its concern is to build and create links with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Looking beyond Berkeley, the CP saw the April Coalition as a tool for building Ron Dellums's base within the Democratic Party. The CP is an ardent supporter of Dellums because they see him buttressing their pitch that the main job of radicals is to get deep in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Thus, Aptheker explained, "The elections became a test of Dellums' popularity."

And since Widener is a Democrat who supports and is supported by Dellums, Aptheker concluded her article with the admonition:

"Creative initiatives which have as their objective demonstrating overwhelming popular support for the Coalition and Widener are required." (Emphasis added.)

In the same article, Aptheker berates the Socialist Workers Party as "the only divisive force on the left" because it insisted on running its own ticket against the April Coalition slate and against the machine Democrats and Republicans.

Even though the SWP candidate for mayor, Antonio Camejo, supported the police control amendment and Widener didn't, Aptheker assailed Camejo for running against him.

After a year in office, the only real "success" that can be chalked up for the April Coalition is that it succeeded in taking significant popular sentiment for social change and diverting it into "safe" reformist channels. As that fact becomes apparent it will add to the political credit of the Berkeley Socialist Workers Party, the one force on the left that insisted on offering a revolutionary alternative.

The April Coalition strategy versus independent political action

1940s, the old Socialist Party established a number of municipal "socialist" governments.

There was one for years in Milwaukee, another in Bridgeport, Conn. Even Berkeley had a one-term socialist mayor.

It's generally agreed that these Socialist Party administrations did provide "good government"—at least in comparison to the utterly corrupt major-party machines.

These "socialist" administrations curbed some of the worst excesses of municipal government and introduced

the present social system, even with their own party in office.

But, some will argue, isn't the "Berkeley effort really the same as Crystal City and San Juan? If you support them, why not Berkeley?

The answer is that San Juan and Crystal City are different from Berkeley in every important political respect.

The central lesson the Raza Unida Parties have taught the Chicano people is that if they are to make any improvement in their lot, not to speak of winning their liberation, they must first of all break with the parties of

April Coalition victory at the polls was first announced. Ken Thomas, president of the Berkeley Industries Association, put it this way:

"A lot of positions they took before the elections sounded like they'd be troublesome to the business community. But we've been through a lot of campaigns and heard lots of people say things they don't really do when they're elected."

And it's not necessarily a matter of not meaning what they're saying. It's simply that you can't lick the system by joining it.



Militant/Priscilla March

Los Angeles Raza Unida Party demonstration against Democrat Richard Alatorre, who ran for state assemblyman in 1971. RUP ran its own candidate, Raul Ruiz, in the election to educate Chicanos that only by organizing independently of the Democrats and Republicans can La Raza make real gains. This approach stands in sharp contrast to the pro-Democratic Party strategy of the April Coalition.

some measures that any progressive citizen could support. After a while they even won the support of cost-conscious businessmen.

The wing of the Socialist Party that put its focus on winning local office as a means of advancing the cause became known as "sewer socialists." Certainly some of their reforms were worthwhile. But the "sewer socialists" did not contribute to the advancement of the socialist revolution but to the demise of the Socialist Party. "Good government" became the end, not the means. But this was inevitable. If this system could be basically changed from within, it wouldn't really need that much changing.

The fundamental problem is that the present society is a class society and the ruling capitalist class—a tiny minority—maintains its power precisely by gulling people into believing they can accomplish good deeds "within

their racist oppressors. Breaking with the Democratic Party, which had so long duped so many Chicanos into believing it was a "lesser evil" to the Republicans, was the principal contribution of La Raza Unida Party.

By blocking with Democrats, by glossing over their true role, the April Coalition demonstrated it is not advancing radical political consciousness but derailing it.

This has not only been injurious to the long-range goal of radical social change but has rendered the April Coalition largely ineffectual even in the specific terms of winning limited but worthwhile social gains in Berkeley.

A genuinely independent, genuinely radical minority on the Berkeley City Council could mobilize the widespread radical sentiment that does exist in that city. Effectively organized mass pressure could win significant con-

It doesn't take much research to establish that the main beneficiary of the Berkeley experience in "new politics" has been the Democratic Party.

The April Coalition—particularly its campus wing, the April 6 Movement—did an effective job of registering voters. Since the participants in the April Coalition were either Democrats or unaffiliated radicals not in principled opposition to the Democrats, the registration effort resulted in a solid gain for the Democratic Party.

Simply consider the figures. In February 1968 there were 64,586 voters in Berkeley. Of these, 30,709 (47%) were Democrats; 17,578 (27%) were Republicans; and 13,681 (21%) were Peace and Freedom.

In March 1971, just prior to the election, the number of registered voters was increased to 76,153. Of these, 52,889 (69%) were Democrats; 13,450 (17%) Republicans; and 2,556

Calif. primary vote shows mass discontent

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Despite persistent efforts to change his image, George McGovern has risen on the wave of anti-war and antiestablishment sentiment. This was demonstrated in the June 6 Democratic primary in California by the large numbers of young people who worked actively in his campaign. McGovern won with 45 percent of the vote.

This is a significant measure of the political mood here and throughout the country. McGovern's aim, of course, is to keep that sentiment safely bottled up within the very system it is directed against.

Another reflection of the rebellious sentiment in the California primary is that Representative Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) won 150,000 votes, 4 percent of the total. This vote for a Black woman came even though she had

few campaigners and little money.

It is also safe to presume that most of her original supporters threw their lot in with McGovern. That switch came early in the race. One example was Ms. editor Gloria Steinem, who advised California voters that while she personally was for Chisholm, McGovern was the best "white male" in the race.

This discontent of voters with the status quo was also shown in local contests, with opposition directed most sharply against incumbents. Three incumbent Los Angeles county supervisors lost their plush jobs and another dozen face runoff contests as a result of their low votes.

A somewhat astonished *Los Angeles Times* political analyst, Bill Boyarsky, characterized the results as "a defeat for the coalition of county officials, workers and influential busi-

nessmen who have had power in county government over the years and who backed their favorites with campaign contributions and precinct work."

The upsets, he said, marked "a surprising new chapter in the political history of an area where county government incumbents are usually elected easily."

One of the main upsets occurred in the race for the powerful post of Los Angeles district attorney. The well-financed incumbent, Joseph Busch, failed to win a majority. He faces a runoff with runner-up Vincent Bugliosi, a maverick whose campaign was run on a financial shoestring.

In the contest for district attorney, Marge Buckley, principal spokeswoman for the Peace and Freedom Party, polled 145,000 votes, 8 percent of the total. Best known as a Peace and Free-

dom activist, she declared during the campaign that she was not a party candidate but was running as an independent seeking broader support.

In voting on various ballot propositions, residents of the state suffered setbacks at the hands of the business and political interests that control the electoral machinery and propaganda media.

As anticipated, the state's polluters succeeded in defeating Proposition 9, an antipollution initiative placed on the ballot by the People's Lobby.

Carried by a slim majority was a constitutional amendment that deprives those charged with criminal offenses of the right to act as their own counsel. The amendment was worded to make it sound as if it were intended to ensure the right to court-appointed counsel where needed.

Corporations unite to beat antipollution act

By BOB CHESTER

SAN FRANCISCO—Proposition 9 (the Clean Environment Act) scored a 35 percent vote in the June 6 California primary despite a veritable barrage of slander, distortion, and high-pressure advertising against it. The sponsors of the proposition, however, are already considering new avenues to carry on the fight for a better environment.

Sponsors of the environmental measure raised a total of \$233,000 for their campaign in behalf of it. Opponents—organized, led, and financed by the most powerful industrial interests in the state—admitted to spending more than \$1.2-million for their scare campaign to defeat the bill.

Under the direction of Whitaker and Baxter, a high-priced public relations

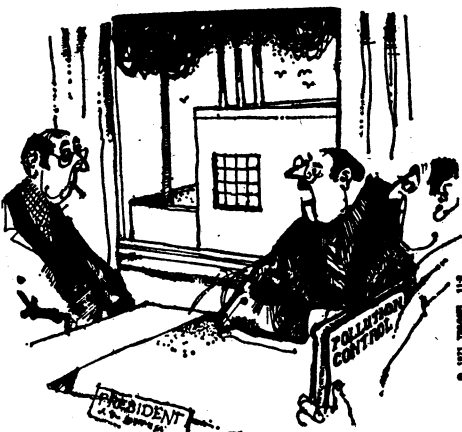
firm, the propaganda poured out, confusing the issue from every angle. Submissive scientists, public figures, and front organizations were recruited to promote this line.

Where the proposition called for setting a deadline to reduce the sulfur content of diesel fuel, oil companies wailed that every bus and truck in the state would have to stop running. Where the proposition called for a moratorium on constructing atomic-power plants until a foolproof system against leakage could be developed, the power companies predicted that brown-outs would result. Where the proposition called for shutting down plants producing pollution during smog alerts, companies howled that workers would lose their jobs. And so on.

Probably the trickiest ploy of all was the claim that the corporations were just as much in favor of cleaning up the environment as were the sponsors, but that Proposition 9 was poorly conceived and would hinder rather than help.

In the process of collecting more than 500,000 signatures to place the measure on the ballot and then working for its support, a broad-based state organization has been built with thousands of devoted and energetic supporters. They have made it clear who the real polluters are—the corporations that will spend millions to prevent restrictions on their polluting activities rather than on seriously working to clean up the environment. For them, profits come before health.

Doug Sneyd



"Fenton! You know how I feel about smoking!"

The Militant gets around...

123 MILITANTS WERE SOLD AT FOUR TABLES set up by Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters in New York's Upper West Side last Saturday. This was the issue acclaiming the Angela Davis acquittal, and they reported that the majority of papers were sold to Blacks and Puerto Ricans. One person attracted to the table was an eight-year-old who bought a *Militant* and expressed interest in the SWP campaign.



AT 26, MAKING HIS FIRST VOTE COUNT: From Celina, Ohio, a new reader writes, "I live in rural, uptight, backward, reactionary western Ohio, but I am hopeful that here too people's attitudes can change. I am very much interested in working for the socialist alternative here."

"I am 26 years old and have never voted because I have never seen a candidate who I felt was truly a representative of my views. But through reading *The Militant* over the past few weeks I have found that the campaign platform

of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley is representative of my feelings, and they and the SWP have my full support.

"I am greatly encouraged to read news of the growing support for the SWP and the Jenness-Pulley campaign. *The Militant's* coverage of 'what's going on' is the best I've seen. . . I want to try and sell *The Militant* here this summer and will probably be ordering a bundle of *Militants* in the near future."

JUNE ISR FEATURES THE SOVIET BLOC: The June *International Socialist Review* is a special issue devoted entirely to the Soviet bloc. The articles in it include: "The Soviet Economy Today—Toward Capitalism or Socialism?" by Ernest Mandel; "The Twilight of Bureaucratic Reformism in Eastern Europe" by Cliff Conner; "Alexander Solzhenitsyn—A New Historic Impulse" by Dora Taylor; and "Documents of the New Soviet Opposition."

This is an extremely timely issue, coming right after Nixon's trip to Moscow and the Kremlin's muted response to his escalation of the war. It will provide readers with a Marxist analysis of the Soviet Union and the growing opposition against its bureaucracy.

Single copies can be ordered from the ISR Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014, for 50 cents each.

TOMORROW AND TOMORROW AND TOMORROW: Our salesman in Chestnut Hill, Mass., sent us a report on his first week selling *Militants*. He writes, "This is to report that in the first week I sold seven and gave away one as a sample. Remainder: two. I sold three, bang, bang, bang, at St. Mary's Street on the Brookline-Boston line not too far from Kenmore Square."

"In the second week, beginning yesterday, I have sold one. Ugh! . . . I shall not allow this

to discourage me. I am going back there tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow."

AUTHORITATIVE AND TRUTHFUL: Recently we received a card from one of our readers in Washington, D.C., that said, "Just a note on my gratitude for having been introduced in 1971 to your newspaper. *The Militant* analyzes the most important issues more authoritatively than any other newspaper I have ever read."

And from San Antonio, a subscriber comments, "I subscribed to *The Militant* some time ago for 10 weeks and I would like to renew my subscription for one year. . . . It is refreshing to get the truth from a newspaper these days. I am favorably impressed by *The Militant*."

TOP MILITANT SALESMAN—GEORGE MCGOVERN:

It seems that SWP campaign supporters are selling more *Militants* with less energy expended these days at meetings where George McGovern speaks. At a high school mock Democratic convention a few weeks ago in Portland, Ore., campaign supporters sold more than 200 *Militants*. The bulk of them, 176 copies, were sold at the "high point" of the convention—a speech by McGovern.

Fred White, one of the sellers, writes, "At the conclusion of McGovern's speech, a high school student wearing no less than nine 'McGovern for President' buttons emerged from the coliseum in a stupor. When he saw me selling *The Militant*, he stopped and stared awkwardly for a moment at the paper. Then after a brief spell, he exclaimed, 'The Militant! Give me one of those. After that (McGovern's speech), I need it!'"

It appeared that many McGovern supporters shared this person's sentiments after having heard McGovern's sterile platitudes on saving "this great country of ours."

—NANCY COLE

Gay actions mark third anniversary of Stonewall

New York

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK CITY—The third anniversary of the 1969 Christopher Street "riots" will be marked here by a week of activities culminating in a gay pride march up Sixth Avenue June 25.

In 1969, when cops attempted what they expected to be a routine raid of the Stonewall Inn, a bar on Christopher Street in New York's Greenwich Village, the bar's gay patrons resisted. Other gays joined in fighting back against the cops' harassment.

In the next few weeks, the first Gay Liberation Front was formed. The resistance to the raid on the Stonewall, symbolizing the new pride that led gays to form GLF and other gay organizations in the following months and years, is seen as the starting point of the gay liberation movement. Marches commemorating the 1969 actions have been held here and in other cities the last two years. From 10,000 to 20,000 took part in the June 27, 1971, march and gay-in here in New York.

This year's march is being organized by the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, the same group that organized the 1970 and 1971 New York actions. The plans call for marchers to assemble between 1 and 2 p.m. June 25 on Christopher Street at Seventh Avenue. The march will then proceed on Christopher past the old Stonewall—which has not reopened in the three years since the "riots" (its boarded front is plastered now with leaflets for the June 25 march)—to Sixth Avenue, and up Sixth Avenue to the Central Park Sheep Meadow.

Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES—Christopher Street West, a coalition of gay activist groups, is sponsoring a gay pride week here. The week's activity will begin with a parade and demonstration on June 25.

Demonstrators will assemble at Hollywood Boulevard and Highland Avenue at 1 p.m. At 2 p.m. they will march down Hollywood Boulevard to Argyle, after which there will be a gay-in at DeLongpre Park.

The demonstration will focus on four demands:

- 1) Repeal all statutes regulating sexual behavior between consenting individuals.
- 2) No "crimes" without victims. Release all persons convicted of so-called "sex offenses."
- 3) End discrimination against gays in all areas of life.
- 4) End police harassment of gays.

Participating groups include: Lesbian Coalition, Melrose Community Church, Lesbian Feminists, Gay Activists Alliance, Lavender People, and HELP, Inc.

The week's activity will culminate with participation in a West Coast gay conference to be held in Bakersfield, Calif., July 1.

Philadelphia

By JOHN SARGE

PHILADELPHIA—On June 11, Philadelphia Gay Pride Week was launched with a mass march through center-city Philadelphia, ending in a rally and dance at Independence Mall. The 2,500 peo-

ple who initially assembled at Rittenhouse Square grew to more than 6,000 as many of the onlookers joined in during the course of the two-mile route. Approximately half of the marchers were Black.

Speaking at the kick-off rally, Jerry Curtis, a member of the Philadelphia Homophile Action League, remarked: "Homosexuals have been an invisible minority . . . [but] today we have stepped forward into the sunlight."

He called for gays to unite around their common oppression in the same way that Blacks, Chicanos, and women have.

Another speaker, Barbara Gittings, a longtime gay activist, described the radicalization occurring among gays in a brief description of the growth and militant development of the Philadelphia gay movement since 1965.

The action was organized by the Philadelphia Gay Pride Committee, an ad hoc group. Organizations participating in the march included the Gay Activists Alliance, Homophile Action League, Philadelphia Radical Lesbians, Temple University Gay Liberation Front, Homophiles of Penn State, and two gay churches—the Metropolitan Community Church and the Oblate Companions of Saint John.

Many non-gays participated in the march, some under a banner reading "Straights for Gays."

Linking the oppression of gays with the war in Vietnam, one demonstrator carried a sign saying, "Out of the closet, out of Southeast Asia, Out Now!"

To symbolize the oppression gays face in this society, a street theater troupe was organized. Wearing masks and chains, this group symbolically portrayed the necessity for gays to hide their identity to be socially acceptable. At the rally, the masks and chains were placed in a coffin to mark the burial of the guilt and fear that many gays now refuse to live by.

Further activities have been planned for the rest of the week. They include films and a lecture on the history of the gay movement. Gay Pride Week will close with a two-day Gay Pride Festival at Temple University June 16 and 17, sponsored by Temple Gay Liberation Front. Many Philadelphia gays will then go to New York for the annual Christopher Street gay liberation march on June 25.



New York, June 27, 1971

Militant/Howard Petrick

AFSCME reaffirms Out Now demand, backs ERA

By RAY MARKEY

HOUSTON—The nineteenth International Convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, held here from May 29 to June 2, was attended by 1,455 delegates. The delegates represented 429,986 members in 1,230 locals and 58 district councils in the country's fastest growing union (5,000 new members a month).

AFSCME was the first international union to call for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. Jerry Wurf, the international president of AFSCME, is still the only international president of a major U.S. union to have spoken at a mass antiwar demonstration.

At this convention, Wurf and the executive board aimed at entrenching their bureaucratic position. The major fights occurred over changing the terms of office for president and secretary-treasurer from two to four years, transferring from the membership to the executive board the power to set officers' salaries, and establishing a judicial panel.

A delegate from Local 1930 (New York Public Library) called for a roll call vote on the motion to extend the terms of office. His motion got the required 25 percent approval, and the first convention roll call vote in 10 years approved the extension by a margin of about 2 to 1. The larger locals from the industrial states were fairly solid for Wurf's motion to extend. The opposition came mainly from smaller locals.

The motions on salary and the judicial panel were also passed.

As U.S. trade unions go today, AFSCME is relatively democratic. At this convention, delegates with minority views had no difficulty getting the floor or presenting their resolutions. However, the executive board's move to gather more authority into its hands points to a trend that endangers this democracy.

The convention reaffirmed its 1970 stand calling for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Indochina. Wurf announced that he would attend the Labor for Peace convention in St. Louis, June 23 and 24.

A short but lively discussion was provoked by a resolution calling for the formation of a labor party. The resolution, introduced by a California local, was opposed by Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 in New York and a delegate to the upcoming Democratic Party convention.

Another resolution submitted by a California local called for the expulsion of prison guards from the union. Most delegates did not understand the correct point made by the California delegate who spoke for the motion: that prison guards, like cops, belong to the repressive apparatus of the bosses to be used against the labor movement.

The convention adopted a resolution on women's liberation that called on all state legislatures to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. The resolution also called for the extension of the Equal Pay Act to cover all workers. And it encouraged AFSCME to represent its women members at all levels with an increased number of women officers and staff members.

Joe Ames, the former secretary-treasurer, was appointed head of the newly created judicial panel at a salary of \$40,000 per year. Bill Lucy, a young Black from Memphis, was elected to fill Ames' old post.

In an act of labor solidarity, AFSCME locals pledged more than \$45,000 to the United Farm Workers.

Wholesale prices leap 0.6 %

By LEE SMITH

Phase Two price controls appeared to be no obstacle last month to the soaring cost of living. Wholesale prices surged even higher than they had in March and April. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, prices for all commodities were up 0.6 percent at wholesale in May. Even after it is seasonally adjusted to 0.5 percent, the increase represents an annual rate of 6 percent.

The rise in wholesale prices comes on the heels of Pay Board rulings that slashed the wage gains of longshoremen and other workers and at a time when unemployment remains steady at 5.9 percent.

Leading the ascent were food prices. The wholesale cost of farm products and processed foods, which had dipped in March and April, accord-

ing to government figures, more than made up for it by rising 1.4 percent in May. Even the seasonally adjusted increase of 0.8 percent still figures out to an annual rate of nearly 10 percent!

With wages being held back in line with the 5.5 percent guideline, the wholesale price of food—a key item in everyone's budget—increased in May at a yearly rate of 9.6 percent. As *The Militant* has pointed out before, the price index tends to understate the actual rate of increase. Moreover, retailers have a habit of allowing wholesale price increases to swell as they pass them on to consumers.

Next time someone tells you that inflation is caused by wages, ask why the Pay Board's attack on wages hasn't left you with more change in your pocket as you walk away from the check-out counter.

Are farmers to blame for high food prices?

By JOHN ENESTVEDT

SACRED HEART, Minn. — High food prices are now being given the treatment by the establishment media. Magazines like *Time* and *Life*, however, fail to bring to the public's attention the true facts about rising food prices.

Life magazine carried a big spread on the high price of meat. But all one could figure out from reading it is that costs are up because wages are up at each step of meat processing and the "price freeze" exempts farm commodities.

It is a favorite capitalist trick to blame high prices on wage increases. In the Feb. 4 *Militant*, Dick Roberts quoted government figures, however, showing that real wages in the U. S. rose only 13 percent in the last decade. Where do high food prices really come from?

A local newspaper recently printed an item that had been put into the *Congressional Record* by Senator Carl Curtis (R-Neb.). It gave the results of a comparison of cattle prices near Hastings, Neb., and Hastings retail meat prices. For example, prices paid to farmers for prime cattle were \$39 a hundred weight on Jan. 9, 1952, and \$38 a hundred weight on Feb. 16, 1972. But on the same dates, in the stores, sirloin steak sold for 85 cents in 1952 and \$1.63 in 1972; hamburger for 49 cents and 98 cents.

This shows that cattle prices paid to farmers average the same today as they did in 1952, while the retail meat prices have doubled during the same period.

Unlike the industrial sector of the economy, where monopolies keep the nation's productive plant operating at 73 percent of its capacity, raw agricultural production has not yet been monopolized. In order to survive, farmers have had to use mechanization—in the words of the U. S. Department of Agriculture—to "make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before."

Farm prices have not risen for the last 20 years! Despite the skyrocketing food prices in recent months, the nation is experiencing a record number of farm close-out sales. In Redwood Falls, Minn., 38 farms were sold in one week recently. Many of the farmers who were forced to sell will be trying to retire, at the age of 60 or older, without the proverbial "pit to hiss in."

What has been happening in the last 30 years? From 1940 to 1954, returns from farming reached a parity with income in other sectors of the economy. During these years, farmers paid off mortgages and bought more land. My wife and I, for example, brought 80 acres in the mid-1940s for \$42.50 per acre. Today the land can be sold for \$300 to \$350 per acre. Farmers have benefited more in the past three decades from the dollar increase in land value than from farming.

From 1954, the squeeze has been on for farmers. We have had to mechanize in the face of climbing farm equipment prices. We have had to buy more land and more fertilizer in an effort to become larger and more efficient.

In order to finance such expansion, farmers have had to borrow against the inflated value of the land. The debt per acre on farm mortgages is at an all-time high today. The growing number of close-out sales signifies the bursting of the bubble that was inflated from 1940 to 1954.

Today one farm worker supplies about 47 people with food in contrast to about 15 people supplied by the same worker 20 years ago. The number of farm workers has plunged from nearly 10 million in 1950 to less than five million in 1970.

Another factor to be considered is the displacement of small farmers' feedlots during the last two decades with contracted cattle-feeding operations. In the past, when their feed supply made it possible, farmers would buy 10 or so feeder cattle weighing from 350 to 400 pounds. They would



feed these cattle for up to a year—and at least for seven or eight months—feeling lucky if they gained \$20 per head for these months of extra work.

Today, however, feeding operations controlled by supermarket chains fatten up lots of 30,000 head of cattle. Using Stilbestrol to accelerate the fattening process, these operations can handle three such lots per year. This more efficient operation makes the final feeding stage far less expensive, but over-the-counter meat prices are double what they were in 1952.

In fact, the reasons for the climbing price of meat do not at all relate to the higher wages paid at each stage of processing. They stem from the monopoly control of food distribution by corporations that can get the meat ready at less cost than by the old methods but whose hunger for profits means that at the same time they sell it for more.

The National Picket Line

GOVERNMENT DEMANDS BACK WAGES FROM WORKERS:

The latest moves by the government to force workers to give back money to the boss must come as a shock to those complacent union officials who are telling their members that it is possible to live with the Pay Board.

On May 30, Donald Rumsfeld, director of the Cost of Living Council, announced that the government had filed a lawsuit against 39 members of the International Typographical Union (ITU) employed by a branch of the Meredith Corporation in West Haven, Conn. The suit would force the employees to make restitution to their employer of wages received since last December in excess of the 5.5 percent limit set by the Pay Board last fall. The ITU had won a 7.45 percent wage increase.

The government demanded the back pay (about \$100 per worker) on the grounds that the union authorized a strike to force the employer to exceed the wage board's guidpost instead of filing with the Pay Board for an exemption.

A spokesman for ITU International President John J. Pilch refused to comment on the government's attack. His timidity was characteristic of high-ranking union officials. It is one of the reasons the government has been bold enough to advance steadily against workers' living standards since Nixon imposed wage controls last Aug. 15. The anonymous ITU spokesman was quoted as saying that this decision is "a local union matter, if they ask for assistance, we'll give it to them."

Far from being a local matter, it is an attempt by the government to establish a precedent that will affect not only all locals of the ITU but all unions.

For example, this ruling will have a bearing on a Pay Board action against the Newspaper Guild in New York City. On June 1 *New York Times* and the *Daily News* announced they received letters from the Pay Board challenging the 11 percent wage increases that became effective March 31, 1972. The pay raise was part of a three-year contract that had been signed on March 31, 1970, by the publishers and the Guild.

The *New York Times* chapter of the Guild announced that it "is determined to take all necessary and practical steps to insure that its members receive the increases agreed to by *The Times* and the guild."

Here, again, it is hardly a local matter. The moves by the Pay Board and the Cost of Living Council against these local unions are not isolated and incidental actions. They are the opening moves of a further push by the government to drive down the standard of living of all workers.

In a similar move against the Amalgamated Meatcutters Union, the Pay Board knocked down the wages of 4,000 Philadelphia butchers who received an 11 percent raise on March 1. The raise was provided under the terms of a two-year agreement signed in 1971, before the wage freeze edict, and long before there was a Pay Board.

These moves are not something the union movement can learn to live with. If the unions cannot defend their contracts and will not fight for wage increases scaled to the constantly rising cost of living, then these unions cannot long endure.

The top union bureaucrats' acceptance of the principle of wage controls—so long as there is "equality of sacrifice"—has undermined from the beginning the ability of the union movement to fight. The idea that wages are in any way responsible for rising prices is a lie that the unions must expose and reject. This is the first step in the long fight to a free and independent union movement that will not tolerate government-dictated wages.

— FRANK LOVELL

D.C. teachers blast Viet war, cutbacks; demand pay hike

By ERICH MARTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C. — "Strike! Strike! Strike!" That was the chant that opened a June 1 rally here called by the Washington Teachers Union. Teachers Union organizer Charles Cheng led more than 600 teachers in the chant.

The union called the rally to demand: 1) No budget cuts or teacher layoffs, 2) a 24 percent pay raise, and 3) the immediate end of the war in Southeast Asia to free money for public education. The militancy at the rally revealed the teachers' anger at a proposed \$6-million budget cut that could cause as many as 600 teachers to lose their jobs.

Congress, which controls the D. C. school budget, is planning to raise the salaries of police and firemen 17 percent at the same time it proposes to lay off hundreds of teachers and hand those who keep their jobs a piddling 5.5 percent salary increase.

Many of the teachers believe the discrepancy between their treatment and that given the cops

and fire department is influenced by racism. The police and fire departments are both more than half white, while 75 percent of the teachers are Black. More than 78 percent of the teachers are women, compared to the virtually all-male police and firefighting forces.

Fifteen speakers addressed the rally, including George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization and Herman Fagg, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for D. C. nonvoting delegate to Congress. Both Fagg and Wiley emphasized the relation between the war spending on U. S. aggression in Indochina and the school budget cutbacks. They and other speakers declared their support for teachers' right to strike.

Other speakers included William Simons, the union's president; Jerry Gordon, national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition; Julius Hobson of the Statehood Party; Lillian Huff of the D. C. Democratic Party; and Jeffrey Lee, a Black high school leader from Eastern high School in D. C.

Further actions are being planned.

By PATTI IYAMA

Thirty years ago President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, inaugurating his "New Deal" for all persons of Japanese ancestry in the United States. This order empowered General John L. DeWitt to evacuate "enemy aliens" from all "military areas."

Beginning in April 1942, more than 110,000 people of Japanese descent were evacuated from the West Coast and placed in concentration camps in the desert. Two-thirds of the evacuees were citizens of the United States.

vention of the CP, meeting Jan. 29-30, 1972. It noted that "Immediately after Pearl Harbor, the People's World [the West Coast paper reflecting the views of the CP] dismissed its Nisei (U.S.-born Japanese) woman office worker (thus becoming the first to lose her job because of her ancestry) and the Party suspended all Nisei from membership saying that 'the Party was the best place for any Japanese fifth columnist to hide and we don't want to take any chances'"

An article in the Jan. 1, 1972, is-

cism," the CP acted to prevent struggles by oppressed groups for their rights. Their organ then, the *Daily Worker*, printed attacks on Blacks who were fighting against racist treatment in the military. They said it was divisive and that it objectively aided the fascists.

'Negro rights secondary'

The *Daily Worker* also denounced A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington Movement in 1942, which demanded jobs and equal treatment in industry and had massive support in

increase as well as better working conditions: "The Lewis line is disruption of the war effort and provocation that could only result in irreparable harm to labor. . . . He wants to throw the country into a home-front war against the President, not against Hitler."

The CP and its periphery even ended up, beginning in May 1944, calling for a permanent no-strike pledge, since strikes were "treason."

Thus, the CP's record during World War II was a consistent policy of collaborating with the American ruling class to suppress the workers' right to strike and to stifle the struggles of oppressed nationalities for their liberation.

SWP record

The record of the Socialist Workers Party stands in stark contrast to that of the Communist Party. Right after President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, *The Militant*, expressing the views of the SWP, denounced this act as an "indiscriminate and brutal witch-hunt . . . having the character of a racial pogrom."

The March 7, 1942, *Militant* attacked the justification used by Attorney General Biddle that the internment was necessary for the "safety" of all people of Japanese descent. The article stated, "instead of enforcing the law and protecting the rights of these citizens, the government is driving them from their homes, terrorizing them, and in actuality encouraging the racial discrimination that is being fanned on the West Coast."

The paper further noted that the order "establishes one of the most dangerous precedents for the usurpation of civil liberties the American people have ever faced."

The Militant printed several articles analyzing the main reason behind the "campaign of racial terrorism" on the West Coast: the greed of the corporate agriculturalists for the land developed by Japanese-Americans. It stated in the May 30, 1942 issue:

"Considerable pressure for the ousting of Japanese-Americans came . . . from California Chambers of Commerce, the Bank of America, and the reactionary Associated Farmers. These groups see in the Japanese-American farmer not a military menace, but an obstacle to their complete domination of California agriculture. Taking advantage of the situation to demand their ousting in the name of 'national defense,' California bankers hope to seize control of the truck gardening fields vacated by the Japanese-Americans. . . ."

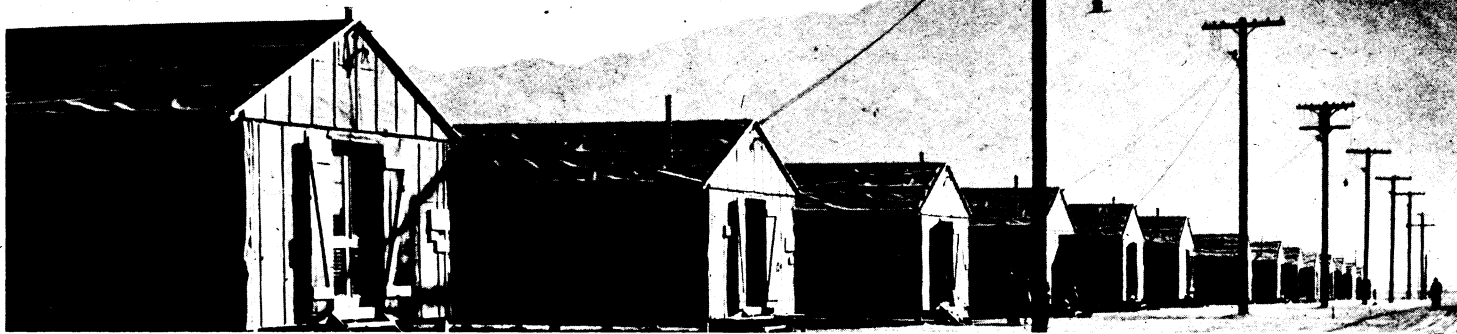
"The second and third generation Japanese-Americans developed the truck gardening industry till in 1941, they were producing 35% of California's garden crop and a total produce worth over \$72,000,000. . . ."

"Large-scale farming has become the feature of California agriculture, where corporations operate single ranches as large as a couple of counties. Farming here is a Big Business enterprise entailing tremendous capital investment and thousands of farm laborers. Control of the capital involved has passed into the hands of financiers centered in the Bank of America, who are seeking ever new fields for investment and profit. . . ."

"And so the story of the Japanese-American evacuations stands today—a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desire of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy.'"

The CP's response to the incarceration of an entire racial minority in concentration camps, along with its other World War II betrayals, shows that it is not really a revolutionary party fighting for the oppressed. And the bits and pieces of self-criticism that it makes 30 years after the event aren't going to help change its reactionary character.

Communist Party record on WWII internment of Japanese



Manzanar, Calif., Relocation Center

Photos from Executive Order 9066

None of them were ever tried for crimes of sabotage or terrorism. It was not until 1944 that they were granted permanent leaves from the concentration camps. The last camp was finally closed on March 20, 1946.

Many radicalizing Asian-American youth today are beginning to examine the responses of left-wing groups to this act of racism and war hysteria by the American government. It is instructive to contrast the disgraceful position taken by the Communist Party in support of the internment with the position of the Socialist Workers Party, one of the few groups to oppose this policy.

The CP claims to have "the outstanding record of any organized group in the country in the struggle against racism." (From the Jan. 1, 1972, issue of the *Daily World*, the newspaper expressing the views of the CP.) Yet it not only failed to protest the concentration camps but actually supported the internment of Japanese-Americans.

There had been Japanese members of the Communist Party since its inception. But in spite of their record of loyalty to the party, all Japanese-Americans were suspended from membership in the CP immediately after Dec. 7, 1941.

The CP urged its former members to go peacefully and quietly into the concentration camps as their contribution to the war effort.

At the time, the CP gave no publicity to its attitude and policy on Japanese-Americans. It was not until the seventeenth national convention of the Communist Party in 1960 that a token mention was made in a convention resolution: "Our Party made serious errors in our work with the Japanese in our country, specifically in the failure to oppose the relocation centers during World War II."

This year the CP began to acknowledge publicly its role in the evacuation: "It is clear today that even the Communist Party has been influenced by the virulent racism as practiced in California." (*Daily World*, Jan. 1, 1972.)

CP drops Nisei

A resolution protesting this policy was submitted by a CP member to the Northern California district con-

sue of the *Daily World* publicly criticizes the CP's policy, saying: "Under a slogan of 'unity' in the struggles against fascism and Japanese imperialism, the Party allowed this act [internment] to go unchallenged, decided to drop Japanese from membership, and allowed their members to go to concentration camps."

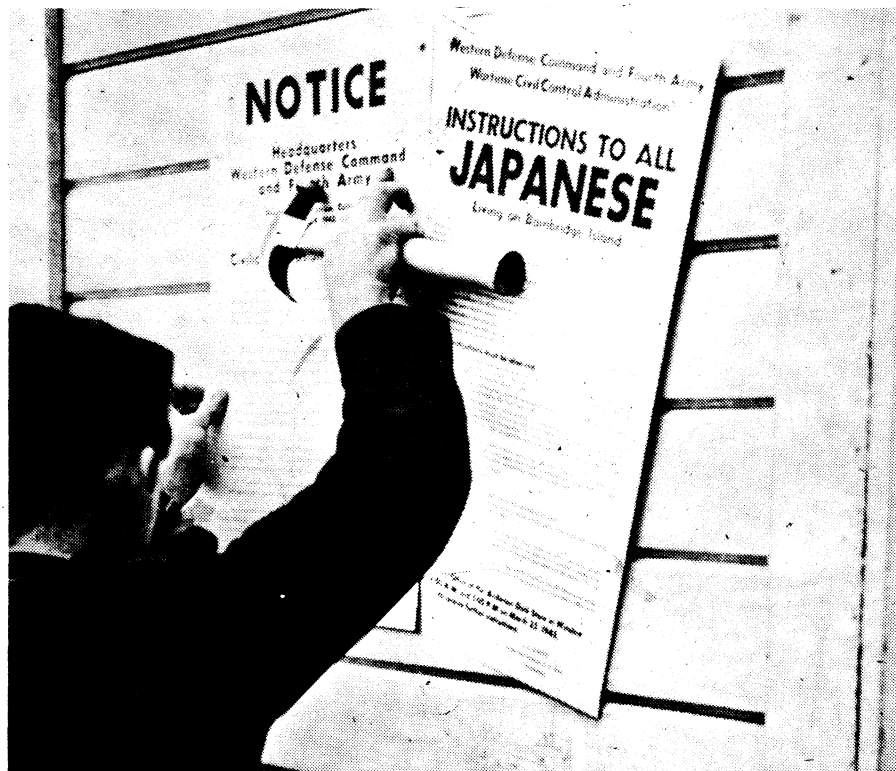
This public admission of its shameful record is due, the article says, to the pressure of "young militant U.S. citizens of Asian origin" who "declare that the Communist Party has not fully recognized the racist character of this opportunism, and it has become a source of constant attacks against the Party."

This support to the incarceration

the Black communities. In March of 1942, for example, the *Worker* argued that "Hitler is the main enemy," and the "foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered as secondary."

A CP pamphlet called *The War and the Negro People* by James W. Ford said, "Four hundred years of Negro slavery are nothing [beside] Nazi persecution of Jewish peoples, peoples of the occupied countries, and 'races' of so-called 'inferior' status."

Thus the CP's collaboration with the liberal capitalist administration of Roosevelt led to abandoning the struggles of Blacks and Japanese-Americans against racial oppression. It also led the CP to help the ruling class



Soldier posting evacuation instructions

of people of Japanese descent was, however, not just a mistaken bending to the "virulence of racism." It was an integral part of the Communist Party's policy of subordinating all struggles to the U.S. war effort. It took its lead from the Soviet bureaucracy, headed by Joseph Stalin, which was in a wartime alliance with American imperialism.

In the name of "unity against fas-

stifle the struggles of workers against harsh wartime conditions.

The CP was a crusader on behalf of the government wage freeze imposed on Oct. 3, 1942. It zealously fought to maintain the "no-strike" guarantee publicly agreed to by CIO leaders for the duration of the war.

The *Daily Worker* sharply attacked the United Mine Workers strike led by John L. Lewis in 1943 for a wage

Bella Abzug vs. William F. Ryan

Campaign of personalities, not issues

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK CITY—For voters accustomed to primary races between liberals and conservatives, the contest here between representatives William F. Ryan and Bella Abzug is a bit confusing. Abzug and Ryan are running for the Democratic Party nomination in the 20th C.D. Both are leaders of New York's strong Reform Democrat movement, and up until a few months ago they were firm allies.

The two are now engaged in a bitter campaign that has undoubtedly given some people second thoughts about the Democratic Party.

Abzug was elected in 1970 as congresswoman



Bella Abzug

from New York's 19th C.D. Early this spring the New York state legislature redrew congressional boundaries, eliminating the 19th C.D., and thus the possibility of Abzug running for reelection as an incumbent from that district. The move was a thinly-veiled attempt by Republicans and some Democrats to squeeze Abzug out of another congressional term.

This type of gerrymandering is a traditional maneuver regularly employed by the two capitalist parties to split up large blocs of Black or Chicano votes, or simply (as in this case) to prevent a politician who is out of favor with the party bosses from being reelected.

Abzug responded by denouncing the state legislature as anti-woman and anti-"progressive politicians." She even organized small demonstrations of her supporters to demand that her district be returned, but to no avail. She then announced on March 21 that she would challenge Ryan, the incumbent, for the Democratic nomination in the 20th C.D.

Abzug made it clear soon after this announcement that while she was out to challenge another liberal Democrat, she wasn't out to challenge the Democratic Party. As Joanna Misnik, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 20th C.D., has pointed out, Abzug made plenty of noise about the redistricting without saying a word about how such maneuvers are the trademark of capitalist politics.

'No political differences'

Right from the start Abzug and Ryan admitted that there are no basic political differences between them. Both have joined demonstrations for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia, while in Congress they have backed bills to "set the date" for withdrawal. Both have supported the Equal Rights Amendment, federally financed child-care, and repeal of anti-abortion laws. Both support the reactionary position of calling for more U.S. aid to the Zionist settler-state of Israel.

Ryan correctly noted early in the fight that "there is no issue of principle here." So both candidates immediately scurried for ways to differentiate themselves, other than their politics.

Ryan's forces have cast Abzug as the "invader" of a "good man's" district, despite the fact that Abzug lives in the 20th C.D. Ryan said Abzug should go find someone else's district to run in

instead of splitting the Reform movement.

Abzug countered with the fact that she is one of the few women in Congress. She appealed to the strong sentiments of many women who want to see more female representation in government.

In addition, she pointed to her role in the antiwar and feminist movements. Ryan, she said, despite his "good" voting record, is not as "activist" as she is. Ryan responded by recounting all the civil rights and antiwar marches he has participated in. He also used his campaign headquarters to organize buses for the May 21 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against Nixon's escalation of the war.



William F. Ryan

Militant/Mark Satinoff

The back-and-forth debate has proved to be an uncomfortable one for many in the Democratic Party.

Within the Women's Political Caucus, where Abzug expected unquestioning support, she has met a mixed response. The National Women's Political Caucus and the local chapter in Manhattan have officially endorsed her.

On the other hand, however, leading figures within the Caucus have equivocated. Betty Friedan says she is "immobilized," unable to choose between the two. Representative Shirley Chisholm also refused to take a stand one way or the other, offering the excuse that she "can't get involved outside of Brooklyn."

Chisholm, who is running her own presidential and congressional campaigns, and Friedan, who plans to run for U.S. Senate in 1974, are both wary of alienating potential supporters of their own campaigns.

The Socialist Party and the Communist Party have jumped into the fray, each taking different sides. The SP has openly endorsed Ryan. An article appearing in the April 28 *New America*, the newspaper that reflects the SP's liberal views, attacked Abzug for employing "ruthless tactics" and for taking over Democratic clubs by packing them with "authoritarian leftists."

When the article got down to political differences with her program, it attacked her for being a "mouthpiece for the Hanoi delegation" in Paris, for initially opposing Humphrey in 1968 (the SP openly backed Humphrey for president in 1968), and for being too soft on Arab revolutionaries and the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party, which has given its tacit support to Ryan in elections for years, has shifted over to Abzug in the current debate. S.W. Gerson, executive editor of the *Daily World*, the newspaper that expresses the CP's views, took up the Abzug standard in an article on April 1.

Defending her as "the victim of a vicious political frameup," Gerson said that Abzug is a "fighting activist," while Ryan is merely a "good liberal." (*World* readers were to assume, apparently, that if the "fighting activist" doesn't make it through the primary, they should settle for the "good liberal.")

Without openly endorsing her, Gerson develops the theme that Abzug is a martyr around whom all "progressives" should rally. "She was marked

for extinction by the ruling powers," he says, "because she in fact represents a new kind of people's politics, activist politics, which not only votes right, but organizes people for struggle."

In the eyes of both Abzug and the CP, "organizing people for struggle" means organizing to reform the Democratic Party. Although this is basically no different from Ryan's strategy, the CP sees Abzug as a more attractive candidate for those young people most inclined to break with the Democratic Party.

Personality contest

Voters in the 20th C.D. are being asked to choose between two personalities, not between two different programs for political change.

The Abzug-Ryan contest is in fact a classic example of how capitalist party politics work. Here are two candidates of the same party, who openly admit they have no political differences, deadlocked in a battle to win votes on the basis of their personalities and styles.

In urging voters to support the socialist alternative in the 20th C.D., Joanna Misnik has explained that electing "good individuals" in the Democratic Party is not the way to win social change. "It's been tried before, and it doesn't work," she says.

Misnik reminds voters of the recent rightward shift in the campaign of presidential candidate George McGovern. "McGovern knows that to win the nomination, he has to meet the approval of those who control both the Democratic and Republican parties—the tiny, wealthy minority that owns and controls the resources in this country."

"But rather than challenging and exposing this rotten, capitalist system and the parties who support it, Ryan and Abzug have tried to mislead voters," Misnik observes. "They say that a few more Reform Democrats can patch things up. They subordinate organizing the real power the American people have—their power in action independent of the Democrats and Republicans—to getting themselves reelected."

The Socialist Workers Party platform calls for a total break with capitalist politics. "Even to win the reforms that Abzug and Ryan say they are for, it will take massive struggles independent of the Democrats and Republicans," Misnik points out.

Supporters of the socialist campaign are actively building those movements that are fighting against the inequities of this system—such as the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, and the struggles of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

"Socialists are fighting for the reorganization of society on a rational, democratically planned basis," Misnik says, "where the resources produced by working people are used to meet human needs, not the needs of a profit-making minority. Such a socialist society cannot come about by relying on individuals within the parties responsible for maintaining the present system."



SWP candidate Joanna Misnik spoke at Oct. 15, 1969, antiwar moratorium in New York City. While Abzug and Ryan argue over who is more of an 'activist,' Misnik has been a leading organizer of mass antiwar demonstrations in New York for the past five years.

Pa. court victory; SWP sets ballot drive

By LARRY SEIGLE

A special three-judge federal court ruled on June 12 that sections of Pennsylvania's election code are in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The decision makes it possible for the Socialist Workers Party to petition for ballot status in the state. Petitioning will begin immediately.

The court struck down the requirement that limited the circulation of independent nominating petitions to a three-week period in February and March and ordered the time limit extended to Aug. 14. At the same time, however, the judges upheld the signature requirements—2 percent of the highest vote in a previous statewide race.

The Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party immediately greeted this partial victory by announcing a petitioning blitz to collect far more than the 35,624 names required. The intensive ballot drive will begin on June 19 with the participation of full-time teams of Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley, and weekend and evening mobilizations of campaign supporters.

Nancy Strebe, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 1st C.D. in Philadelphia, said she was "delighted" that Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley would now appear on the Pennsylvania ballot. In February, 4,500 signatures, nearly twice the requirement, were collected to win a ballot spot for Strebe.

When the Pennsylvania legislature raised the requirement for statewide office from 0.5 percent to 2 percent, the SWP decided to go to court rather than spend the excessive time and money that would have been required to collect the signatures in the middle of Pennsylvania's raw winter.

Judy Uhl, SWP national ballot coordinator, said the SWP had been "confident all along of getting some kind of judicial relief because the new Pennsylvania law was so blatantly unconstitutional." The SWP urged other minority parties to join together in a united legal challenge, and a suit was

filed jointly by the SWP, the Communist Party, the People's Party, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Consumer's Party. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) actively supported the suit, getting publicity and building broad public support for the democratic right of minority parties to appear on the ballot.

The Communist Party decided to petition in the winter and collected about 40,000 signatures, which have not been challenged. The Socialist Labor Party and the People's Party also circulated petitions, but failed to meet the minimum requirement.

In its decision, the court declared that "the essence of a democracy is the right to vote freely. Every citizen must have a full right effectively to participate in the political process. . . . Independent political bodies and groups legitimately are interested in having their candidates' names and independent political labels appear on the ballot at the general election, and any tinkering with the electoral process



Nancy Strebe

Militant/Ron Payne

which deprives them of that right will be struck down."

Referring to the time allotted for petitioning, the majority held that "this three-week period is so short and so remote from the election as to be unreasonable." But the judges ruled that the 2 percent requirement is "reasonable" in light of the Supreme Court decision in (*Linda*) *Jenness v. Fortson*, which upheld Georgia's 5 percent requirement.

The judges also invalidated the requirement that signers of the petition must state that they "represent" the

political party circulating the petition. American Civil Liberties Union attorneys Harry Lore and Harry Levitan, representing the plaintiffs, had argued that this requirement unfairly limits the number of signers of nominating petitions.

SWP campaign workers plan to concentrate their petitioning efforts in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley throughout the state are being urged to participate in the drive, either in their home towns or by joining the petitioning teams in the two major cities. To volunteer or to get copies of petitions, contact the Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party, 1004 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Telephone: (215) WA5-4316.

Protests demand Ohio ballot rights

By DAVE PAPARELLO

COLUMBUS, Ohio, June 13—The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) held a news conference and picket line here today in support of Linda Jenness's right to appear on the Ohio ballot. Forty letters from prominent individuals were delivered to the office of Secretary of State Ted Brown, protesting his threat to rule the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate off the ballot because she is "too young."

The U.S. Constitution requires a person to be 35 in order to serve as president. Jenness is 31.

Letters sent to Brown came from James P. Dixon, president, Antioch College; Thomas Buckley, associate dean, Marshall Law School; Carroll Sierk, assistant dean, Marshall Law School; Lois Adams, president, Cleveland National Organization for Women; Holmes Bowden, secretary, Lake County AFL-CIO; and others.

CoDEL filed suit in federal court on June 2, after a representative of Brown's office said that Jenness's nominating petitions would not be checked because it would be a "waste of taxpayers' money" to do so for an "unqualified" candidate. The suit seeks to make sure that Brown checks

the petitions and does not rule Jenness ineligible for ballot status.

Today, under pressure from the mounting protests, Assistant Secretary of State George Ferris told CoDEL representative Tom Bayless that the state would begin to check Jenness's signatures.

According to Ferris, a final decision on ballot status for Jenness will not be made until July 15, the date by which all the signatures must be checked.

Pulley at SWP convention in Texas

By BECKY ELLIS

HOUSTON, June 12—Seventy people came from Lubbock, San Antonio, Fort Worth, Austin, Arlington, Crockett, and Houston. The occasion was a campaign banquet here June 10 featuring Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. The banquet kicked off the first leg of Pulley's summer tour.

A full day of activity preceded the banquet as campaign supporters from throughout the state held the Socialist Workers Party Texas convention, which formally nominated Linda Jenness and Pulley for U.S. president and vice-president.

Speakers at the convention included Richard Garcia, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and Mike Alewitz, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor.

The socialist campaigners celebrated the successful conclusion of the huge petitioning campaign to get the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Texas. A total of 45,200 signatures, nearly twice the required amount, were collected by campaign supporters in the first bid by the party for ballot status in Texas.

Earlier that day Pulley also attended the Raza Unida Party state convention in San Antonio. Pulley was the only candidate for national office who was present to express his solidarity with this important Chicano gathering.

A June 8 news conference at the Rice Hotel in Houston announced the successful completion of the three-week Texas petitioning campaign. Pulley, who was present at the conference, differentiated the Socialist Workers Party from the Democratic Party of Wallace, Humphrey, and McGovern—"the party of bankers, millionaires, and bombers," as he put it. Pulley's statement was picked up by local radio stations and articles on the news conference appeared in several newspapers.

While in Houston Pulley visited the local Black Panther Party headquarters, where he and BPP leaders discussed the Black liberation movement. Pulley also met with two leaders of Africans in America for Black Liberation.

A major focus of Pulley's tour in Houston was speaking to working people where they shop and work. Houston campaign supporters accompanied Pulley to the Northline Shopping Center, where a campaign booth was set up in the middle of the mall. As supporters distributed campaign brochures, Pulley spoke with shoppers who stopped at the booth.

At the Maxwell House Coffee plant Pulley spoke to workers at the shift change. Campaign supporters distributed the SWP platform and other campaign materials, which were very well received. Pulley then went to the union hall, where he spoke with more Maxwell House employees.

Pulley continues his Texas tour in Austin and will then be campaigning in major cities on the West Coast during the rest of June and July.

SWP ballot-drive scoreboard

STATE	SIGNATURES REQUIRED	SIGNATURES COLLECTED
Florida	27,960	51,600 (completed)
Idaho	1,500	3,000 (completed)
Illinois	25,000	28,000
Iowa	1,000	begins in June
Indiana	8,466	16,500 (completed)
Kentucky	1,000	2,007 (completed)
Louisiana	1,000	3,000 (completed)
Massachusetts	56,038	66,511
Michigan	14,256	28,732 (completed)
Mississippi	1,000	begins in June
New Hampshire	1,500	500
New Jersey	800	2,350 (completed)
North Dakota	300	689 (completed)
Ohio	5,000	9,767 (completed)
Pennsylvania	35,624	begins in June
South Dakota	4,799	6,619
Tennessee	225	begins in June
Texas	22,253	45,200 (completed)
Utah	500	942 (completed)
Vermont	1,535	3,000
Washington, D. C.	13,000	24,637

Plans for petitioning in additional states will be announced in the future.

Volunteers and money are needed to help complete the petitioning in these states. If you would like to help, clip the coupon below and send it to: SWP Campaign, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

☐ I would like to help petition to put the SWP on the ballot. Send me information.

☐ Enclosed is \$___ to help pay petitioning costs.

☐ I endorse the SWP campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans, although I do not necessarily agree with all the planks of the SWP platform.

Name _____
Address _____ Phone _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
School/organization _____

Mass. petition campaign goes over 66,000

By JEFF POWERS

BOSTON, June 12—After only two weeks of intensive petitioning, Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters have collected more than the 56,038 signatures required to place their presidential ticket and senatorial candidate on the ballot. To date, 66,511 signatures have been collected.

Petitioning coordinator Jeannie Reynolds reports that the canvassers will continue to petition to ensure that enough valid signatures are collected for ballot status. She predicts that another week of petitioning will safely bring the signature total well over the top.

Confident that the final week will go smoothly, Reynolds announced plans for a gala victory rally to be held June 17. SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness will speak at the rally. This will be the first time since last December that Jenness has made an appearance in Massachusetts.

"Last Saturday, when we collected 9,230 signatures, we literally had a



Boston petitioning

petitioner on every busy street corner in Boston," Reynolds noted. Very few persons walking the streets are unaware of the SWP campaign, she said.

The signature drive has had a substantial impact on the campaign. More than 125 people have signed cards endorsing the SWP ticket during the last two weeks. Mike Shur, who obtained nine endorsements in four days, indicated that people of all ages are endorsing the campaign. He reported his best success at Fields Corner, in the heart of a working-class neighborhood.

Top petitioners last week were Willa Madden and Debby Clifford, with



John Powers

more than 200 signatures each in one day of petitioning in North Andover. Julie Simon, working on the North Shore, collected 125, 164, and 184 signatures during three days.

Petitioners traveling to cities outside Boston have been giving news packets to the local media. On Saturday a lengthy article appeared in the Lynn *Daily Item*, outlining the petition campaign of the SWP and inviting people to attend the Boston campaign rally on June 17.

Petitioning for congressional candidates John Powers and Jeanne Lafferty is right on schedule. Both candidates already have more than enough signatures to meet the 4,500 requirement—6,831 signatures have been collected for Powers and 7,613 for Lafferty. The goal is to collect 9,000 signatures for each candidate before the end of the week.

Illinois socialists petition across state

By BARRY DAVID

CHICAGO, June 11—"Petitioning for Jenness and Pulley in Chicago was easier than ever, but I was a little apprehensive about the response of people in Joliet to the Socialist Workers ballot drive," said Bob Mears after returning late Saturday with more than 200 Joliet signatures.

"It was great to see how the radicalization has found its way into a middle-sized industrial city like Joliet. There wasn't a single young person or Black person I spoke to who refused to sign."

Bob was one of more than 40 campaign supporters who petitioned throughout the state as part of what campaign organizers call "phase two" in the campaign to put the Socialist Workers Party on the Illinois ballot. Illinois law still contains a reactionary distribution requirement stipulating that no more than 12,000 of the 25,000 signatures may come from any one county. This law is directed squarely at Chicago's Cook County, where nearly half of the state's residents live.

Therefore, after collecting most of their signatures in Cook County during "phase one," teams of campaign supporters set out to Rockford, Peoria, Waukegan, Aurora, and East St. Louis, as well as to Joliet. Their goal was more than 5,000 signatures for the weekend.

Team captain Don Caine reports that more than 3,000 signatures were collected in East St. Louis alone, bringing the weekend total to well over 6,000. The statewide total now stands at more than 28,000 signatures. Campaign supporters have set a goal of 40,000 to be collected before the Aug. 7 deadline.

Mears, besides collecting the largest number of signatures over the weekend, also led the team that collected the highest average number of signatures (more than 150 per person).

Petitioning organizers offered a copy of Farrell Dobbs's new book, *Teamster Rebellion*, to the team members with the highest averages. This helped to develop a spirit that significantly increased the average for all the petitioners.

Help is still needed. If you would like to petition, contact the SWP Campaign Committee at 180 N. Wacker Drive, (312) 641-0147.

'72 Socialist Campaign

Kentucky voters will have the opportunity to pull the lever for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley this November. The SWP was notified on June 12 that it has secured a place on the Kentucky ballot. More than 2,000 signatures on nominating petitions were filed with the secretary of state in March.

As of June 12, a total of 292,750 people have signed nominating petitions for SWP candidates. The national campaign committee estimates that before petitioning is completed, 437,500 signatures in 30 states will be filed by SWP supporters.

Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress from New York's 20th C.D., took her campaign into the streets of New York City's Upper West Side last Saturday. Four literature tables were set up on Broadway, including one in Harlem. Misnik toured her district in a sound truck, stopping at the tables to talk to people interested in the campaign and to distribute her campaign brochure. Campaign supporters sold 123 copies of *The Militant*, 35 copies of the truth kit on Senator McGovern, and distributed thousands of campaign brochures.

The sound truck also traveled through Spanish-speaking neighborhoods, with a message in Spanish. The truck was greeted with clenched fists from passersby, and a great deal of interest in the socialist campaign was evident. The tables were so successful that campaign supporters plan to have them up every Saturday until November.

Young Socialists for Jenness and Pulley attended a June 12 rally for McGovern in Brooklyn where they sold 63 copies of *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About George McGovern* and distributed a thousand copies of the SWP 1972 platform to a crowd of about 1,500.

Wendell Smith, graffiti editor of *The Phoenix*, the largest underground paper in Boston, recently gave support to John Powers, SWP candidate for Congress from the 8th C.D.

"Fortunately in November Tip (Thomas P.) O'Neill will be opposed by an 'independent' Socialist Workers Party candidate, John E. Powers. John ran for Mayor of Boston in 1971 and I had a chance to talk to him several times and grew to like the man considerably. The day of Boston's primary election for Mayor, John spent talking to a prisoner at Norfolk prison. . . . I think that John Powers' candidacy for the congressional seat of Tip O'Neill is an excellent idea. . . . If you want to know where you can get a petition to sign, call 482-8050."

The latest issue of *New Community Journal* from Bowling Green, Ohio, contains an article on the YSJP by Bob Weigl. Weigl explains that the long-range goal of the Jenness-Pulley campaign is to end "the capitalist system of war and inequality—a system which degrades human life, warps cultural values and prevents masses of people from controlling the institutions

which govern their lives."

Weigl urges readers to "Make a commitment to end war, racism, sexism and capitalism. Investigate the socialist alternative and support the campaign of the YSJP. . . ."

Professor Douglas Hoehn from George Washington University recently wrote to the national campaign committee. "We have a group of faculty members at GWU," he reports "who support Jenness and Pulley for the coming election. Please send us 50 mixed buttons for this organization."

Groups of campaign supporters can get special prices on literature and buttons in bulk. Make sure you have an adequate supply of all the posters, buttons, and brochures available.

Carole Newcomb, whose campaign on the YSJP slate for student body vice-president at Los Angeles City College was reported last week, received 30 percent of the vote in the elections



Just out—to order this new campaign button (black, yellow, and white), send 30 cents to the SWP '72 Campaign office.

there May 23-24. Newcomb is also the SWP candidate for Congress from California's 26th C.D.

Cecil Lampkin, SWP candidate for Congress from Ohio's 21st C.D., has joined as a plaintiff in a suit seeking to have the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections dissolved. The suit contends that the board is unconstitutional because it is made up of only Democrats and Republicans and because it has never had a Black or a woman member. The board was responsible for the total snafu of the Cleveland elections in the recent Ohio primary.

A new truth kit, entitled *If HHH Were President*, is now available from the SWP national campaign. It contains information on the political history and voting record of Hubert Humphrey, exposing his record on the war and his claims to be a fighter for the interests of labor and Blacks. The eight page pamphlet sells for 25 cents, or 10 cents each on orders of 50 or more.

All requests for campaign materials or for more information should be sent to: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7676.

— LARRY SEIGLE

Interview with Linda Jenness

Antiwar, feminist sentiments growing in Latin America

By DAVID JAMES

JUNE 13—Linda Jenness, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, was in New York this week following a three-week tour of Mexico, Peru, Chile, and Argentina.

During an interview in *The Militant* office, she told me that she spoke to more than 9,000 people at 16 meetings. "Nearly 8,000 of those were in Argentina," she said. "I was also interviewed by a number of radio and television stations and newspapers that reach hundreds of thousands."

"Who came to your meetings?" I asked.

"Mostly university students. But there were also workers and older socialists at some of the meetings. Most did not belong to any organization."

I asked if she was harassed by the police. "No. I was particularly surprised in Argentina, where there is a military dictatorship that has tortured and murdered many revolutionaries, to find that it is possible for socialists to organize public meetings."

"Was there anything in particular that characterized your meetings?" I asked.

"Opposition to U.S. intervention in Vietnam. This was the theme everywhere. As you have already reported in *The Militant*, there were large antiwar demonstrations in Lima and Mexico City last month. The antiwar sentiment is deep, and there is a feeling among many people that the U.S. invasion of Vietnam may sometime be repeated in their own countries."

Jenness also indicated that there was great interest in the U.S. antiwar movement. "The United States doesn't appear to people there as the reactionary monolith it once did. They can see two United States—those of us struggling against Yankee imperialism at home and the profiteering war-makers who run this country and dominate most of Latin America."

Also of considerable interest to people there was the fact that Jenness is a woman and a feminist. "When I got off the plane in Lima, the first person to meet me was Vilma Garcia, a woman reporter for *Expreso*. Although there are other women reporters in Lima, Garcia is the only one who writes regular news articles and not just things for the women's and society pages. She had to put up a big fight to win this. It is a sign of the changing mood of women throughout Latin America."

Jenness said that reporters as well as people in her audiences asked a lot of questions about women. "They wanted to know about the struggle for legal abortions in the United States. This was interesting to me because in Latin America this is still a hush-hush question. There was also interest in the relationship between feminism and socialism and whether women should organize themselves separately."

I asked her about women's liberation organizations. "There is a small group of radical women in Lima that publishes a paper called *Mujer* (Woman), which is sold on the campuses. But of the countries I visited, only Argentina really has a feminist movement. It's small compared to the movement here, but interest in it is growing."

"There are several women's liberation organizations in Argentina. One

group, similar to the National Organization of Women (NOW) in this country, is the Movement for the Liberation of Women (*Movimiento por la Liberación de la Mujer*). Another, more radical group, composed mainly of students, is the Young Women's Group (*Grupo Muchacha*). Both groups are in Buenos Aires and each has about 40 active members.

"These two groups joined the welcoming committee that greeted me at the airport when I arrived in Buenos Aires. They also cosponsored a meeting of about 1,000 people. They had never held a public meeting before, and it was much larger than expected. Two hundred people had to stand in the lobby, where a loudspeaker



Militant/Ben Atwood

Crowd of 3,000 at Jenness's Buenos Aires meeting wave banners and placards against war in Southeast Asia.

was set up so that they could listen to the meeting."

I asked her what role women play in the radical movement. "There are many women in the leadership of the Argentine Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Argentino—PSA), the group that organized my visit to four other Argentine cities."

"At the biggest meeting, held in Buenos Aires in solidarity with Vietnam and for socialism, all the speakers were women. Particularly exciting was the speech by Alicia Moreau del Justo, an 87-year-old pioneer socialist and feminist in Argentina. A letter was read at the meeting that Moreau wrote to the government in 1912 protesting the inferior status of women."

Jenness explained that in Argentina some of her meetings were organized by the Argentine Socialist Party, others by women's organizations, and a few by coalitions of several organizations. In the city of Mar del Plata, for example, among representatives of several political tendencies who gave short welcoming speeches, was a spokeswoman for the Argentine Communist Party.

I asked Jenness to describe the Argentine Socialist Party. "When I was there, the party was in the midst of a massive registration campaign to obtain ballot status for an election

that is supposed to be held next spring. It has to collect thousands of signatures in each of a minimum of five of the 22 provinces. They have won approval in two provinces so far.

"Petitioning is carried out on street corners and door-to-door, much like the Socialist Workers Party does here. However, it is more difficult there. A party worker has to get the signature of each person supporting the drive on several different forms. Also, the signer is not signing just for the right of the PSA to be on the ballot but is joining the party."

"What kind of program does the PSA have?" I asked.

"It is calling for all socialists in the country to join in a united socialist electoral bloc on the basis of no support to the capitalist parties. It wants to build a socialist alternative in the elections and calls for a government of the workers and their allies (*obrero y popular*). It opposes both imperialism and the Argentine capitalist class, which it believes is so closely linked to the interests of foreign capital that it can play no progressive role in the anti-imperialist struggle."

"In a statement of policy issued last fall, the party declared that 'the struggle for national liberation in Argentina is therefore a revolutionary struggle for socialism.' It opposes the Peronist bureaucracy of the Argentine labor movement and is attempting to get independent working-class support."

"It says it is launching the election campaign to take advantage of an opportunity to 'prepare the force capable of making the revolution that objective conditions in Argentina and in the world point to as the most urgent task to complete here and now.'"

She indicated that activists in the PSA participate in the student movement and are involved in trade-union struggles. "There is a significant radicalization in Argentina, probably deeper than in the United States, and a lot of young people are joining the Argentine Socialist Party."

"These youth have much of the same kind of seriousness and dedication I have noted among young people in the United States who belong to the Young Socialist Alliance or are actively supporting the SWP election campaign."

I asked her why she took time out from her campaigning in the United States to tour Latin America. "Our party is thoroughly internationalist in its outlook and its activities," she replied.

"We want to let people in this country know that this is not a commitment we take lightly, that we are genuinely interested in and concerned about the problems of people in other countries. Our vice-presidential candidate, Andrew Pulley, visited Ireland and West Germany earlier in the campaign, and we have both spoken in Canada."

"On this trip I wanted to get a better picture of what's happening in Latin America and report that back to the American people. I see that John Connally is in Latin America now. You can bet that he's not going to tell the people there the truth about what's going on here or report honestly to the people here about what's going on there."

Communist Party-SWP debate Nixon's trip to Moscow

By JON HILLSON

DENVER—A representative of the Communist Party and a representative of the Socialist Workers Party debated the meaning of Nixon's trip to Moscow at the Militant Forum here May 26. More than 40 people heard Robert Trujillo of the CP and Joe Johnson of the SWP argue opposite sides of the question.

Johnson ran down the list of the Soviet Union's betrayals in Vietnam, during and after World War II and at the Geneva conference after the Vietnamese had defeated the French in 1954. He traced these betrayals to the policy of "peaceful coexistence" adopted by the bureaucracy that usurped power in the isolated and war-ravaged Soviet Union during the mid-1920s.

"Now," Johnson said, "the Soviet bureaucrats entertain the world's number-one war criminal" at the same time Nixon carries out the worst bombing of the war. Johnson scored the criminal refusal of the Soviet regime to provide the Vietnamese with aid on a scale that would begin to approach "what it could have given and can give."

Johnson showed how the various agreements signed in Moscow will be of no help to the oppressed masses and do not bring the world one step closer to peace.

Trujillo, a member of the CP for more than 30 years, said that "peaceful coexistence" was necessary because "the American capitalist class is out to wreck the world." The accords Nixon signed in Moscow, Trujillo said, "tie him down."

Trujillo called for stepping up pressure on representatives in Congress to ensure that Nixon acts in "good faith" concerning the agreements signed in Moscow and "to ward off White House moves towards a totalitarian state." The CP spokesman warned: "If we spend time attacking the bureaucrats in Moscow [sic] when Nixon is out to bring about a police state in the U. S., then we're sunk."

Trujillo had no answer to Johnson's analysis of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian revolution under Stalin. Nor could he refute Johnson's history of Stalinist betrayals. Instead, he announced that he would be visiting the Soviet Union this summer and offered to report on his trip to the Militant Forum upon his return.



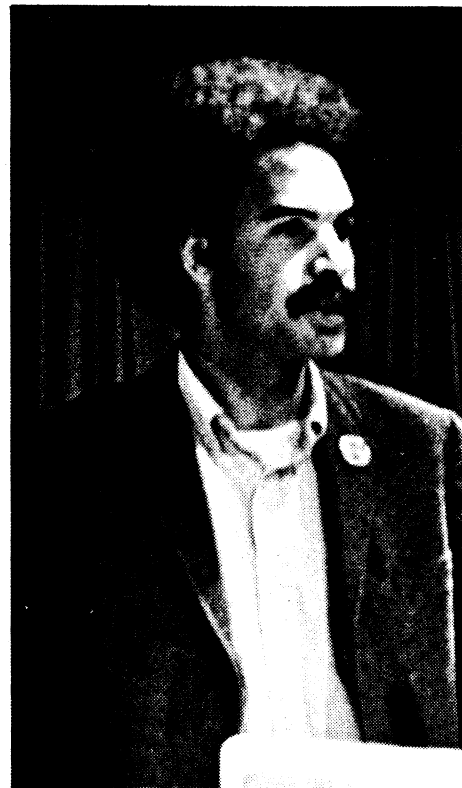
Joe Johnson

Afro-American campaign team reports:

'Tremendous response at Black campuses'

By JOHN HAWKINS

Three Afro-American supporters of the Linda Jenness-Andrew Pulley campaign wound up their three-week tour of the South May 27 by joining the African Liberation Day march and rally in Washington, D. C.



Baxter Smith

Militant/Dave Saperstan

Team members Sam Manuel, Baxter Smith, and Mac Warren visited six predominantly Black colleges in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana. All three have been active in the Black liberation, student, and antiwar movements.

Manuel served as New York City coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee for the April 22 national antiwar demonstrations this spring. He was formerly an activist in the Black student movement in Atlanta. Smith is the business manager of the *International Socialist Review* and was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Los Angeles school board in 1971. Warren is a member

of the Atlanta Young Socialist Alliance and is an activist in the Black and antiwar movements there.

On most campuses the team spoke to meetings and classes on the African liberation struggle, the fight of the Vietnamese people for self-determination, and the Socialist Workers Party 1972 election campaign. They distributed thousands of posters, stickers, and leaflets on the SWP campaign and on the African Liberation Day action.

The team set up literature tables almost everywhere they went. They sold hundreds of copies of *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*, as well as many radical books and pamphlets.

More than 400 of the students they talked to signed up as endorsers of the Jenness-Pulley ticket. Many of these endorsers expressed interest in the Young Socialist Alliance, and at one college two students decided to join the YSA.

Recently, I talked with the team members about their tour. The one thing that stood out in the opinions of all three was the tremendous reception the Socialist Workers Party campaign received from Black students.

Smith described the reception as "phenomenal." "People were interested in finding out just what our campaign was all about," he said. "They were impressed that we are running a Black candidate for vice-president."

Warren added that "students had all sorts of questions about the campaign, such as 'Are you serious?' or 'Why are you running someone white for president?' but they would endorse the campaign after talking with us because of the program the candidates are running on."

One thing that surprised the team members was the small amount of visible support for the Democratic candidates on the campuses they visited. While support for Chisholm and McGovern was reflected in some of the questions students asked, no one they encountered seemed to be organizing in behalf of either candidate.

Manuel commented that "the people who support McGovern see his campaign as synonymous with the antiwar

movement. After discussing McGovern's real record with us, a lot of people were convinced that McGovern couldn't be relied on to end the war in Vietnam."

"Most people we talked to were disgusted with what's going on in this country," Smith said. "Many see the Democrats and Republicans as representatives of the worst of what is happening in society today. I think that's one of the reasons our campaign received the reception it did."

Manuel added, "Most people we ran into who were close to the Chisholm campaign were very interested in our campaign. They wanted to know our opinion of Chisholm's strategy and of her positions on various issues."

"We pointed out how she was trying to make the Democratic Party into something it couldn't be; how she gave little support to the African Liberation Day demonstrations; and that she was a supporter of Israel, thus violating the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination."

"After this kind of discussion, many people who were thinking of supporting Chisholm decided to support the SWP campaign instead."

I asked the team members how African Liberation Day was built in the areas they visited and what people thought of the SWP campaign's support to those demonstrations.

"At every campus we went to," Smith replied, "there were people who were planning to go to the demonstration. At Fisk and Peoples College in Nashville, Tenn., a Black student organization was building for the demonstration. At Tougaloo College in Mississippi, the Black Unity Coordinating Committee had put up posters and leaflets around the campus."

"The campus where it was best organized," Smith said, "was Southern University in Baton Rouge, La. The main student organization there is the Black Stone Society. They held meetings to get students involved in publicizing the march on Washington and arranging transportation. When the administration opposed school funding for buses, they had to settle for holding a demonstration in New Orleans."

Sam Manuel reported that much the

same level of activity around African Liberation Day existed in New Orleans. There the local coordinating committee included both wings of the Black Panther Party, members of the Congress of African Peoples, members of the Republic of New Africa, Afro-American supporters of the SWP campaign, and supporters of other groups, including the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

"The demonstrations against importing Rhodesian chrome," Manuel said, "helped build active committees in New Orleans and Baton Rouge."

"Several building actions took place in New Orleans in the weeks leading up to African Liberation Day," Manuel continued. These included picket lines at businesses that trade with the Rhodesian and South African regimes.

"Demonstrators held brief rallies and then went out to distribute leaflets. That's part of the reason why close to 500 people turned out for the May 27 demonstration in New Orleans."

The team members all agreed that for most people they ran into on the tour, the sight of an election campaign using its forces to help build a demonstration was unique.

Manuel summed it up, saying, "Our support to the African Liberation Day demonstrations differentiated us from other candidates' campaigns—along with the rest of our program, of course. It gave people who wanted to support our campaign something to do. It showed that our campaign is a campaign of activists."

"A lot of people endorsed Jenness and Pulley because they saw the SWP campaign as a vehicle through which they could really participate in mass activities—building African Liberation Day, the antiwar movement, or the women's liberation movement. They saw that these activities could help bring about social change, something that relying on the promises of Democratic and Republican politicians could never do."

"I think the fact that the Jenness-Pulley campaign is an activist campaign was one of the chief factors behind the 400 students endorsing the SWP ticket during our tour."

Democrats discuss 'balancing ticket'

By LEE SMITH

On June 7, after meeting with state governors from the South in Houston, Minnesota Senator Hubert Humphrey told reporters he would not rule out Alabama Governor George Wallace as his vice-presidential running mate if he won the Democratic Party's presidential nomination.

Humphrey's rival, South Dakota Senator George McGovern, went to visit Wallace in the hospital at Silver Springs, Md., three days later. He emerged from his visit saying he would not rule out offering the Alabama governor a cabinet post if he were elected president in November.

Two days earlier, Wallace had another visitor, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm. The June 9 *New York Times* reported that after spending 15 minutes at the racist governor's bedside, the Black congresswoman said "she had a very pleasant visit with him."

The *Times* also reported that Chisholm attributed Wallace's support in the primaries to his stands on "the issues that were important—the dom-

ination of corporate institutions, unfairness of the tax structures and unresponsiveness of the Government to the people."

"The Brooklyn Democrat said that she and Governor Wallace did not agree mainly on state's rights," the *Times* reported.

Several days before her "pleasant visit" with Wallace, Chisholm had told reporters that the Democratic Party needs a Southerner on its national ticket if it wants to beat Nixon. She said that Arkansas Representative Wilbur Mills, powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, "could best bring together Southern conservatives and progressives," according to the June 6 *New York Times*. The small item quoted her as saying: "I could support Wilbur Mills with the proper combination."

While, according to the *Times*, Chisholm "did not specify which half of the ticket she envisioned for Mr. Mills . . . [she] also said again that she believed the nomination for President might go to Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts."

Ethel Kennedy, the senator's sister-

in-law, has also been among the visitors who have seen Wallace in the past weeks.

The courting of the Dixiecrats by avowedly "progressive" Democrats from other sections of the country is one of the more sordid aspects of capitalist politics. And it is not new. The need to beat the Republican—in this

case Nixon—is the traditional liberal excuse for accommodating to the Dixiecrats to maintain the Democratic vote-catching coalition. This is how we ended up with Truman, and later Johnson, as president. They were picked by Roosevelt and Kennedy to "balance" the ticket, to maintain "party unity."



Shirley Chisholm



George Wallace

The following are major excerpts from an article in the May 27 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the French Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International. It describes one of the first large meetings of the growing French women's movement. The Hall of the Mutualite, where the meeting took place, holds 3,000 to 4,000 people. The translation is by The Militant.

"Among our comrades there are many of whom one could say, unfortunately, 'Scratch the communist and you will find the philistine.' For some, it is necessary to scratch in a tender place: their mentality regarding women."

— LENIN

lineaux and Viry Chatillon, the hotels for adult unwed mothers.

- The end of illusions about "the golden age of painless childbirth," reduced to a caricature for want of sufficient hospital personnel.

- Female homosexuality and the problems sexual minorities face in view of present-day moral standards.

- Rape.

- Abortion, the "clandestine" practice of masses of women; and contraception, although legal (within a restricted framework), practiced by only a minority of women.

- Housework and professional life (43 billion hours of paid work by men and women in France, as against 45 billion hours of unpaid female domestic labor).

wise the struggle (which was victorious) for contraception in the maternal homes has an enormous impact.

All high school and college youth must take up these themes of struggle. They have the power to corrode the whole social order.

The fight for freedom of abortion and contraception is a permanent area of struggle.

But despite the force of these demands and the possible impact of these areas of struggle, the development of a mass movement is still not assured.

The contradictions of the MLF, which originate in its very development, were manifest throughout these days. They can undermine the group if there is no framework for their solution. Since the MLF rejects all forms of stable organization, this means any orientation is as good as any other; any course of action has the same importance. Clearly regressive tendencies exist and were expressed in the course of these two days. This showed up in the form of negating the intrinsic ties between a society based on exploitation and the oppression of women. It was manifested especially by the narrowness of the "political" aim set by the struggle for liberation of women. Often it seemed as if it were a question of attacking the "patriarchal civilization" in isolation from that which produced it: class society. What is the patriarchal family, however, if not the basic unit of class society?

But take note. If one looks for the significance of these "antipolitical" reactions, one finds that they express a legitimate concern: the fear of seeing the struggle of women subordinated and in fact postponed to fit the needs of a politics defined in a framework that is irrelevant to their liberation (the more "frustrated" say, "by the men"). One finds in it the refusal to postpone the liberation of women to a future time of the social revolution; the consciousness that the struggle of women as such is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle.

This consciousness was explicitly manifested in the course of the days. Side by side with the denunciation of "every form of power, including leftist power" (sic), it was also proclaimed that the struggle of women is part of the class struggle: "We were born out of the class struggle; we were born in May '68 because the class struggle carried with it and developed the struggle against all oppression."

The same assembly identified, without apparent problems, with these two types of reasoning, oscillating from side to side throughout the two days.

But the contradictions of the MLF, — the blindness of certain currents to the tie between the women's liberation struggle and the political struggle against the capitalist system — are not simply the expression of the powerlessness of the MLF. They result directly from the effects of the degeneration of the Russian revolution. (Thus the revolutionary legislation of 1918 on the family was eliminated beginning in 1934 as a consequence of the growing strength of Stalinism.) These contradictions are the historic heritage left by the defeats of the traditional workers movement, which indeed deserted the struggle of women at the same time it abandoned a revolutionary perspective. Today the link can be reestablished. Revolutionaries must take part in every aspect of the women's struggle. The explosive force captured in these two days calls to mind the degree to which everything concerning the liberation of women attacks the very roots of the capitalist social system.

— PASCALE BIQUARD

French feminists assail 'crimes against women'



Mass meeting heard testimony from hundreds of women on their own experience of oppression as females.

Photo from *Rouge*

Without posters, but with the help of the press, the "Days of Denunciation of the Crimes against Women" brought a full house to the Mutualité for two days, from Saturday afternoon May 13 to Sunday evening. The event was carried out on the initiative of the Women's Liberation Movement [Mouvement pour la Libération des Femmes — MLF], The Movement for Freedom of Abortion [Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement — MLA], and the group "Choice."

A full house is an understatement! The chairs were removed, the stage was opened to the participants, and the entire hall became an immense tribunal, ardent, serious, and intense. It gave women a place where they could demonstrate and explore the totality of their revolt. Although they are traditionally excluded from the political world, at this meeting it was women who took the initiative, expressed themselves, and did the organizing. Many men came to listen. They were the ones who volunteered to operate the child-care center. . . .

The testimony was without doubt repetitive, disorganized, sometimes naive, but it still captured in a vivid way the daily oppression of women:

- The strike of "underage" unwed mothers in the home at Plessis-Robinson, the living conditions at the homes for unwed mothers at Issy-les-Mou-

The power of these two days came from the explosive character of the testimony, which never degenerated into abstract reports on the condition of women. It had the corrosive power of "that which is never said"; the power of denunciation and criticism that is both ravaging and healing and even had its moments of humor.

But what will follow from these days?

The first thing to state is that the MLF is the opposite of a well-defined movement. It is a movement in gestation: heterogeneous, shot through with contradictions, bursting with confusions, but very much alive. It will acquire its real force if it finds some means — other than showering sparks — to catalyze the revolt of women.

But to what degree can it do this?

The MLF has played a marginal role since it began and until today.

But take the example of what the young unwed mothers are demanding. Their denunciation of the education at the CET [school for women] at Plessis, which is centered on teaching housekeeping, sewing, cooking, and in the longest course, typing and stenography — is a model for all the female CETs. Their demands — emancipation, allowances, no expulsion of pregnant women from their high school or college — concern all young people. Like-

High school women protest beauty contest

By JOHN LINDER

PORTLAND, Ore. — This city's largest annual event, the Rose Festival, met resistance this year from feminists and antiwar activists. Each year, the city's corporate elite sponsor this festival as a profiteering gimmick. It brings between 500,000 and a million tourists into the city, putting a lot of dollars into the pockets of Portland's wealthy.

Unfortunately, the vast majority of Portlanders do not profit from the Rose Festival. Furthermore, the event is based on the exploitation and degradation of women. The central activity of the festival is a beauty contest. The contest begins in the high schools, where students compete for the title of Rose Festival Princess.

Following the selection of high

school princesses, the women chosen are used as unpaid models by Portland's largest clothing companies. In June, the Royal Rosarians, a group of old businessmen, select a queen from among the princesses. The Festival is climaxed by a parade in which the princesses and the queen are displayed before the people of Portland.

Women have organized against the festival beauty pageant for several years. Last year a group of students at Adams High School forced the school administration to hold a referendum. The students then voted two to one to throw the princess selection out of their school. At Jackson High School, the students voted not to participate in the princess selection. At

Cleveland High School, several women smashed the princess's crown.

Responding to these actions, the Portland School Board this year decreed that a princess selection would take place in all Portland high schools.

A group called Women Against the Rose Festival Princess Selection (WARFPPS) organized to protest this arbitrary school board action. But the board refused to consider the women's demands.

On June 3, more than 100 people picketed outside the Rose Festival Queen's coronation. A leaflet distributed by the pickets stated: "We are picketing the Rose Festival Queen Coronation tonight to protest this annual rite that exploits and degrades women." It serves "to reinforce the sex-

ist stereotyping of women as mindless bodies. In this beauty pageant, women are stripped of all human dignity, paraded and judged on the basis of their physical appearance alone. The process of judging reduces the intelligent self-expression of individual women to the level of 'poise' and 'voice modulation.'"

Further actions were promised "until the Rose Festival Princess selection is removed from Portland schools."

Another aspect of the Rose Festival is the arrival of a fleet of warships. The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia and a group called the Rose Festival Peace Committee planned a June 10 protest to coincide with the war fleet's arrival.

The CP and the elections

All three prongs of its strategy lead to support for Democrats

By MILTON ALVIN

The Communist Party is trying to obtain ballot status in 30 states for its 1972 presidential ticket. In 1968 it was on the ballot in only two states. The party has nominated Gus Hall, its general secretary, for president and Jarvis Tyner, chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League, for vice-president.

This extensive ballot effort suggests that the CP is planning a more serious campaign than the one it ran in 1968. In part this is a response to the growing impact of the Socialist Workers Party election campaigns.

However, a careful look at the Hall-Tyner campaign reveals that it does not represent a decision to abandon the long-time CP policy of supporting candidates of the capitalist parties, especially "progressive" Democrats. The CP leadership has simply decided that within the framework of that policy it can run a campaign that will help counter the SWP initiative, build the CP's forces, and at the same time, actually have the effect of hustling votes for the Democratic nominee.

In the main report to the CP's twentieth national convention in February, Gus Hall stated, "Our aim is to expose and defeat the reactionary candidates—to sharply criticize the liberal candidates and to give support to the progressive independent candidates."

How is this going to be done? Hall explains that the party will use a "three-pronged electoral tactic." This is described as, "Work within the two old parties; work for independent candidacies; and work for Communist candidacies." (All quotations are from *World Magazine*, March 4, 1972, unless otherwise noted.)

If seriously intended, Hall's "three prongs" would be quite contradictory to one another. But it really does all fit together because the second prong—"independent politics"—is fraudulent.

Hall's definition of independent politics (mentioned 36 times in his report) has nothing in common with



Earl Browder in 1930s

the Marxist concept of that term. Marxists understand independent politics in a class sense—that is, independence from and opposition to capitalist politics. Hall, however, stretches the definition of independent politics to include supporting forces within the Democratic Party.

For instance, Hall states, "Political independence within the two old parties has made significant headway in the Black community. It is independence on a new level." (Emphasis added.)

This is pure bunk. Hall is referring to such formations as the Congressional Black Caucus. But the precise function of that caucus is to persuade Blacks to stay in the Democratic Party and not try to build an independent Black party. Like Hall, these Black Democratic politicians use the rhetoric of "independence" to dupe rebellious elements into sticking with a party that is a major instrument of their oppression.

Hall's efforts to conceal this reality is not the product of simple ignorance. For instance, in his report to the 1969 CP national convention (reprinted in the *Daily World*, May 2, 1969) Hall said, "The task of breaking



Jarvis Tyner

Militant/B. R. Washington

out of the political 'entrapment' in which the American people find themselves is a task to be worked on now."

He said the "entrapment is the present two-party system." And he even pointed to the class character of the Democratic and Republican parties, calling them "an airtight system of capitalist rule." Just how this correct idea can be reconciled with "work within the two old parties" is of course not explained. (Even then he presented a three-prong tactic similar to that dusted off for reuse in 1972.)

Hall unwittingly condemns his own politics when he says, "Class collaboration in the field of political action is no less a sell-out than it is in the field of economics. Class struggle trade unionism means class independence in the field of politics."

In reality, the Communist Party's electoral efforts—even their own ticket—are designed to support the Democratic Party under the formula that Nixon must be defeated. This policy is far from new. It was first used by the CP back in the 1936 campaign. While running Earl Browder as its candidate, the CP also raised the slogan "Defeat Landon at all costs." Landon was the Republican candidate running against Roosevelt.

This was a slick way of saying "Vote for Roosevelt," which was the real aim of the CP as Browder admitted in his memoirs. Variations of this formula have been used by the CP in virtually every election since then.

Explaining the present three-prong policy, Hall said they are not separate, static tactics. He called for "flexibility" in applying them but he also pointed out that "For the moment most of the action is taking place around the state primaries."

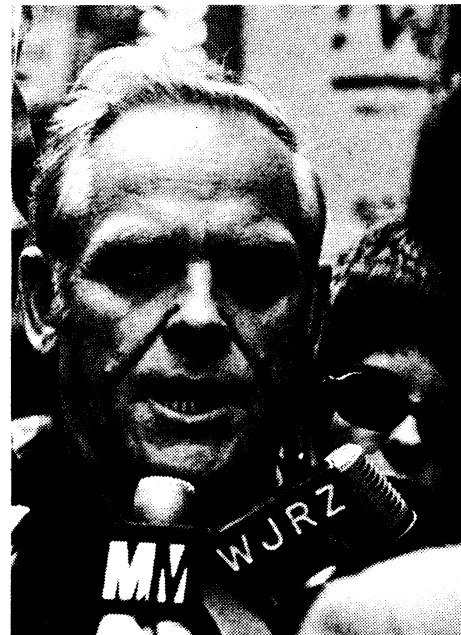
He further stated that "reforms have have opened somewhat the method

of electing delegates to the Democratic Party convention and some of the candidates are speaking to the issues."

What is this, if not a directive to the CP to get involved in the primary scramble now taking place in the Democratic Party? It is, as Hall previously demonstrated, a "sell-out."

Equally insidious is Hall's statement that "We who understand the nature of the movement within the orbit of the old parties and the nature of the movement moving out must be the force that keeps movements from going in their separate ways. We must bring them to an understanding of what unites them."

What he is really saying is that the



Gus Hall

Militant/Randy Furst

CP should relate to forces breaking away from the Democratic Party in such a way as to thwart their independent development. For example, the CP will try to maneuver forces like La Raza Unida Party into "coalition" politics, into "alliances," i.e., into supporting "progressive" Democrats.

Seen in this light, two of Hall's three prongs are broken into little pieces. What is left is the same old story: Defeat the "reactionary" Republican and elect the "lesser evil" Democrat.

When successful, this policy contributed to such "victories" as the election of Kennedy, who was responsible for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, and the election of Johnson, who proceeded to escalate the Vietnam war. There is no reason to believe that 1972 will be an exception.

All the leading Democratic contenders, for example, have tactical differences on various questions, but they share the same essential procapitalist outlook. If any one of them were elected president, they would continue to defend American imperialist interests at home and around the world.

Throwing all subtleties to the winds, Hall says, "Now I come to the item that is on top of the list of priorities. We place it at the top of the list because it is the prong with which we can best influence the total picture."

"To defeat Nixon is to expose him. To expose Nixon is to expose the present policies of monopoly-state capitalism. To defeat Nixon is to expose the reactionary fascist danger. To defeat Nixon is to expose his racism. To defeat Nixon is to expose his maneuvers to continue the aggression in Indochina." (Emphasis added.)

Nothing is said about defeating the Democrats, whose basic program of defending capitalism does not differ essentially from Nixon's. Thus, only one of Hall's prongs is left: "work within the two old parties."

Apologists blushing, but still for McGovern

By DAVE FRANKEL

Judy Baston, writing in the May 27 *People's World*, the West Coast voice of the Communist Party, says "A lot of antiwar activists in the San Francisco Bay Area were disturbed and disappointed" when they read the May 7 *Chronicle-Examiner*. The headline was "McGovern Condemns the Red's Invasion." McGovern's condemnation of the Vietnamese offensive came in reply to questions by the *Examiner*.

Now this was quite an embarrassment for Baston since the CP was supporting McGovern in the California primary while claiming to support the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

Baston stresses her disappointment: "Lest I be accused, as I have been privately on occasion, of being an apologist for McGovern, let me hasten to add that the disappointment I felt May 7 was sharp. . . ."

But then she goes on to explain that her "disappointment is over the extent to which . . . [the] press can create, rather than report, news. How it can close in on a man, not because of who he is as an individual, but because of the momentum he has ignited among sections of the people in this country, and set him up for a fall guy."

Asking McGovern his position on the fighting in Vietnam "was a set-up, pure and simple," Baston says. "Which doesn't say the South Dakota Senator didn't have the option of saying, as he had in the past, that Vietnam is one country, engaged in civil conflict, and one can't invade one's own country."

"Sure he could have. But realistic politics dictated otherwise," Baston argues. Realistic politics. It's enough to make you wonder just who the patsy really is.

Nevertheless, Baston takes her argument to the end, pointing out that "every time George Wallace racks up more primary votes" the strength of the right wing is increased. She urges the left to "apply equal—and meaningful—counter-pressure." Translated for the uninitiated, this means: Vote for McGovern in the Democratic Party primary, even if he opposes the Vietnamese freedom struggle.

This is not the first time CPers have been patsies for McGovern. For example, the Jan. 20 *Daily World*, the national voice of the CP, featured an article headlined "McGovern arms plan still talks cold war."

Writer Tim Wheeler's embarrassment comes through plainly in this report on the "alternative defense posture" outlined in McGovern's position paper "Toward a More Secure America." McGovern's arms budget, Wheeler is forced to admit, is based on the premise that "the major communist powers, China and the Soviet Union, will remain actively hostile to U.S. interests and that there is a real risk of confrontation if one or the other can expect military advantage as a result."

These formulations, laments Wheeler, are "virtually indistinguishable from those of war hawk Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.). . . ."

Not that McGovern is a cold-war liberal. No, Wheeler explains, McGovern simply "fell into a cold-war 'balance of terror' trap." It could happen to anyone.

In Review

Books



Smack!

Smack! by The Editors of *Ramparts* Magazine and Frank Browning. Harper and Row, 1972. 222 pp. \$1.25, paper.

Heroin is fast becoming an opiate of the people. Hundreds of thousands are already addicted and addiction figures are climbing swiftly. Despite pious words in high places, very little is actually being done to combat the drug problem. Treatment facilities are pathetically inadequate in both quantity and quality. Worse yet, the basic research on the causes and cures of heroin addiction has hardly begun for lack of necessary funds.

Smack! is an anthology of articles that attempt to explore the politics of heroin. Some of the articles are new, but most have appeared previously in magazines such as *Ramparts* and *Monthly Review*.

Sol Yurick argues in "The Political Economy of Junk" that: "The addict, no matter what his psychological perceptions about himself, no matter what theorizing psychiatrists do, is a social type generated in response to changes in the social economy in a time of world crisis. A mistake frequently made is to view drug consumption merely as an indulgence, a gratification, an escape rather than a market response to economic and social dislocation. . . . In a pressure-to-consume world, all pleasures can be made addictive: and the important thing to remember is that for the head, intoxication is a need, and needs can be channeled into markets which can relate satisfaction to product, in fact make gratification impossible without an attendant product."

The United States government has recently made a big show of forcing the Turkish government to ban the growing of the opium poppy (from which heroin is derived). The U.S. has claimed that Turkey is the prime source of heroin. This claim is contested by Frank Browning and Banning Garrett in "The CIA and the New Opium War":

"According to the United Nations Commission on Drugs and Narcotics, since at least 1966, 80 percent of the world's 1,200 tons of illicit opium has come from Southeast Asia—directly contradicting most official U.S. claims that the primary sources are Middle Eastern. In 1966 Interpol's former secretary general, Jean Nepote,

told investigators from Author D. Little Research Institute (then under contract to the U.S. Government Crime Commission) that the Fertile Triangle (in Southeast Asia) was a principal production center of opium. And last year an Iranian government official told a United Nations seminar on narcotics control that 83 percent of the world's illegal supply originated in the Fertile Triangle—the area where opium is controlled by the U.S.-supplied troops of Laos and Nationalist China (stationed in parts of Burma and Thailand)." Recently, high officials of the South Vietnamese government and army have also been implicated.

Maxine Kenny points out in "Drug Law History Politics and Prohibition" that "little money is available for 'treatment'; most of the effort still goes to repression. Moreover, in the past, 'treatment' has most commonly been nothing more than a euphemism for imprisonment. Finally, really meaningful treatment means changing the conditions which lead to addiction. Even if a medical 'cure' for addiction were found tomorrow, poor people would still lack meaningful employment, decent housing, good schools, etc.; the conditions that generate addiction would remain untouched."

Beyond that, it could be stated that the general malaise induced by the meaninglessness of life in a profit-oriented society is a prime motivation for the non-medical use of drugs. Among professional people, doctors have the highest rate of opiate addiction—mostly morphine, rather than heroin. Their reason for drug use is certainly not poverty, but alienation.

Smack! contains a lot of information about drug use in Vietnam by GIs, the elimination of opium poppy growth in Turkey, the involvement of the CIA in heroin traffic, and the social dynamics of drug addiction in the ghetto. The articles are not all of equal worth, but on the whole the book succeeds in the task it claims for itself. That is, in Frank Browning's words of introduction, the purpose of the book is to show "the close integration of the international traffic in heroin with America's economic and military institutions abroad and with the daily life of her citizens at home."

—ARTHUR MAGLIN

Janis

Janis by David Dalton. Simon and Schuster. New York, 1971. 212 pp. \$4.95, paper.

Joplin in Concert. A Two-Record Set. Columbia Records. 1972.

David Dalton is a free-lance contributor to *Rolling Stone* who became hypnotized by the heady beat of Janis Joplin's life and decided to just follow her around for a while and write a book on her. "Honey," Joplin told this would-be parasite, "if you can pay for the plane tickets, then you can follow me around for the rest of my life."

Janis contains the transcripts of the many conversations she and Dalton had in the months preceding her death in October 1970. Fortunately for us, the book contains other features as well.

There are 43 pages of photographs of Joplin—face swollen, hair flying, decked out in feathers and beads and the trade-mark bottle of Southern Comfort. The articles that appeared about her in *Rolling Stone* are reprinted. The words of many of her songs are included. And there is even a flimsy little red record that lets you listen to her voice.

The success of this book lies in the fact that no matter what romanticization Dalton engages in, Joplin's fighting spirit just keeps pushing on up from between the lines.



Joplin was what is called (by some) a "chick singer." There have been few women in her position. Most female rock singers are part of a male-dominated duo, and women such as Judy Collins, Carol King, and Melanie do not tour as much as Joplin did. Joplin's performances were her life, and she threw everything into them—body and soul.

Joplin's style was in direct confrontation with the prevailing standards of femininity. Many women have identified with the toughness and aggressiveness she projected through her music.

"No chick's supposed to act like that," she said. "You know, your tits



shaking around and your hair stringy, and you have no makeup on, and sweat running down your face." Joplin just refused to be tamed.

Joplin strongly identified with two other female blues singers who also died young and tragically—Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday. Although as a white woman from a middle-class background she never faced the



extreme hardships that these two Black women did, Joplin became a victim of the same stereotypes. She told Dalton, "People, whether they know it or not, they like their blues singers miserable. . . . They like their blues singers to die afterwards."

The cuts on *Joplin in Concert* have been selected from tapes of some of her best performances between 1968 and 1970. Although the less raspy-type songs contained in *Pearl* (e.g., "Me and Bobby McGee") are not represented, the album is worth getting for "Piece of My Heart," "Summertime," "Ball and Chain," and other Joplin classics. She does not just sing the songs but interacts with every word, holding some inside until they finally come rushing out, a torrent of raw energy. The masochism of songs such as "Piece of My Heart" makes them painful to listen to. "Take it/Take another little piece of my heart now, baby/Break it/Break another little piece of my heart now, honey."

Just as you have to brace yourself to listen to "Piece of My Heart," the routines are hard to take as well. In order to win the affection of her audiences, Joplin continually feels compelled to degrade herself. In one cut, she invites everyone to come to San Francisco and have a drink with her. "I ain't too hard to find," she tells them, "I'm all over the streets."

Joplin was not exactly an advocate of the women's liberation movement, barely in its infancy at the time of her death. She misunderstood the goals of feminism and thought it was attempting to take things she regarded as privileges away from her. "I'm for equal pay and all that shit," she said. "But hell, man, I don't want to light my own cigarettes and open doors for myself."

Although she was not a conscious feminist, Joplin had a real understanding of the raw deal women get in this society. The image of women projected in her songs is that they are born to suffer and be mistreated by men.

One likes to think that had the feminist movement come along a little earlier, it might have saved the lives of Janis Joplin, Sylvia Plath, Marilyn Monroe, and the countless other women who have killed themselves directly or indirectly. We can never be sure. But when heroin froze the veins of Janis Joplin at the age of 27, the feminist movement lost a gutsy sister.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

African perspectives debated—more actions projected

By TONY THOMAS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Some of the key issues facing Africa were discussed at the National African-American Conference on Africa at Howard University May 25-26. The gathering was sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus.

Between 100 and 200 people attended, mainly government officials and faculty members from Black and African studies departments. High registration fees (\$20 to \$35) had the effect of excluding the type of campus and community activists who built the successful African Liberation Day demonstration in Washington, D. C., on May 27.

The conference was addressed by African diplomats from Ghana, Somali, Nigeria, Cameroon, Mali, and other countries. Many of them stressed working within the United Nations as an important means of gaining support for liberation struggles in Africa. Several of these diplomats stated that U. S. investments should be increased in independent African countries as a means of improving their conditions. However, Robert Rhoades, an economist from the University of Chicago, pointed out that such investments hinder rather than further the economic development of African countries.

The only representative at the conference from one of the African liberation movements was a spokesman from the Zimbabwe Liberation Front. He rebuked the African states for their inaction in support of the liberation struggles.

"We no longer want to hear resolutions," he said, "and not see action. . . . When Zambian borders are bombed by Rhodesian and South African airplanes, we don't want to see complaints in the United Nations, we want to see African soldiers in Zambia. . . ."

"What we are talking about in Southern Africa is not asking British, Canadian, and American corporations to come in and give wages to our people. . . . We are talking about taking control of the land and establishing African nations."

One workshop condemned Israel for its complicity with South Africa and Portugal and for the Zionist seizure of African territory in Egypt.

Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) and other representatives of the Congressional Black Caucus laid out a strategy to support the liberation struggles in Africa and the independent African states. Unfortunately, this strategy was based for the most part on working within the legislative arena and did not project mass action. Diggs raised demands, however, that included support to majority rule in Southern Africa and a total cutoff of all economic, military, and political relations with the Portuguese, South African, and Rhodesian regimes.

Owusu Sadaukai, president of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N. C., and chairman of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee, addressed the conference. He stated that support to African liberation did not mean increasing imperialist investment but giving Africans "power over the production of goods and services" and "power over the mechanism of force and violence."

As a target for action, Sadaukai cited plans to boycott the Gulf Oil Corporation, which has given millions of dollars to Portugal to carry out its wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. He called for continued demonstrations against Gulf Oil.

Sadaukai told *The Militant* that the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee would be discussing what form mass actions in support of Africa would take during the summer and the fall.

How authorities attempted to muzzle the L.A. Free Press

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—With literally millions of people currently employed by federal, state, and local governments, "security" screening of these workers becomes increasingly difficult. And government workers—like so many others in the population—are taking a dimmer view than ever of many aspects of government policy and activity.

Publication of the Pentagon papers and the revelations about ITT's affair with the federal government are examples of the increasingly thorny governmental "security" problem.

And the government attempt to railroad Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo in the Pentagon papers case indicates the serious view the government takes of this problem.

Such attempts at victimization are not confined to the federal government. One current example is the effort of California authorities to destroy the *Los Angeles Free Press*.

Founded in 1964, the *Free Press* was one of the first underground papers. With a current circulation of 80,000, it is probably the largest in the country.

From the outset, authorities took a dim view of the *Free Press* and the radicalizing youth culture it represents. Official displeasure increased when, on a number of occasions, the paper put the spotlight on the practices of various law-'n'-order agencies.

The *Free Press's* troubles with the law began in earnest in 1969. In a recent interview, *Free Press* editor Art Kunkin described what happened.

During August of 1969, Jerry Applebaum, then a free-lance contributor to the paper, was approached by Jerry Reznick. Reznick said he had facts about alleged violations of the law by members of the campus police force at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). Reznick had recently quit his job as a mail clerk at the Los Angeles office of the California attorney general.

The facts of the UCLA case were contained in a photocopy of a memorandum prepared by two state investigators. They alleged that UCLA cops had committed theft and in one case, rape. The cops had obtained immunity from prosecution because they had knowledge of a reported affair between a high campus police official and a police-woman.

The *Free Press* published a story based on the allegations of the state probers. At the same time, the former mail clerk offered the *Free Press* a list of undercover narcotics agents employed by the state. The names of these agents were included in a printed California Department of Justice telephone directory.

The directory included names, addresses, and job classification of all agency employees. The directory was not marked in any way to indicate it was deemed confidential. Officials later explained it was published to facilitate the exchange of Christmas cards among employees.

After consulting with attorneys who assured there were no legal problems involved, the *Free Press* published the names and addresses of 80 agents in a front-page editorial, "Know Your Local Narc." The editorial addressed itself to the mounting problem of governmental use of police surveillance of citizens.

Shortly after, the paper received a letter from the office of the attorney general advising that the UCLA memo and telephone directory were state property and requesting their return.

The *Free Press* again consulted its attorneys who, this time, advised the paper of a statute barring illegal possession of government documents. They said that prosecution under this provision could not be precluded. The documents were returned.

Simultaneously, the *Free Press* was hit with two major damage suits. The narcotics agents named in the editorial sued for "invasion of privacy," demanding \$15-million in damages. In an unprecedented civil suit, the state of California sought \$10-million for "obstruction of justice."

Then, editor Kunkin and writer Applebaum were indicted on charges of receiving stolen property, a felony carrying possible 10-year terms and heavy fines.

The statute invoked was specifically designed to deal with traffic in stolen merchandise. It was spuriously applied against the *Free Press*, since the paper had no reason to presume the documents were in Reznick's possession illegally. More-

over, they did not purchase the documents, and the information clearly did not constitute "property" within the meaning of the law.

A six-week trial resulted in a mixed verdict. The charge against Kunkin of "receiving" the UCLA memo was dropped when it could not be legally established that it had been in his possession. The jury apparently refused to buy the proposition that the memo constituted "property" and acquitted Applebaum of that charge. Both Applebaum and Kunkin were convicted of "receiving" the telephone directory.

Obviously aware of the flimsy legal underpinnings of the case, the judge gave them a year's probation and \$500 fines.

Reznick, who was charged under another statute, placed himself at the mercy of the court and was given probationary sentence.

This March, a three-judge state appeals court voted 2 to 1 to uphold the *Free Press* conviction. This is now being appealed to the state Supreme Court.

The dissenting appeals court decision rejected the notion that the information made available to the *Free Press* was "property." The judge also



Art Kunkin

Militant/Harry Ring

noted that after the conviction, the state legislature acted to plug up this loophole, adopting a statute making it a misdemeanor to publish names of undercover agents without authorization.

Meanwhile, the *Free Press* found itself in a desperate financial situation as a result of the campaign directed against it. Legal expenses for the trial had been heavy. Even more costly was the state's naming the printer of the *Free Press* as a codefendant when it initiated the obstruction-of-justice suit. The printer concluded he no longer wanted the paper's business.

At that point Kunkin decided that the only way to ensure continued publication was for the paper to own its own printing plant. This proved an enormously costly and unprofitable venture. Funds were drained from a chain of bookstores owned by the *Free Press*, finally forcing them to close.

Kunkin, who was the owner of the paper, had to sell it. After several transactions, he was able to make an arrangement that assured him continued editorial control.

To alleviate ongoing legal expenses, the *Free Press* sought and achieved out-of-court settlement of the two civil suits. The state settled for \$10,000 and the agents for a total of \$43,000 plus a public apology to their families. The apology has been made and the *Free Press* has since won postponement of the payments.

Since the Pentagon papers case, a growing number of people have recognized the meaning of what happened to the *Free Press*. Recently, a group of Washington correspondents actively involved in the Pentagon papers defense contacted the *Free Press* and offered to file a friend-of-the-court brief in the state Supreme Court appeal.

Meanwhile, if financially bloodied, the *Free Press* remains unbowed. It recently scored a significant news scoop by revealing the use of bugging and other forms of political surveillance of students and faculty members by campus police in the Los Angeles community college system.

Calendar

ATLANTA

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION. Speaker: Susan Christie, former activist in N.Y. women's liberation movement and former coordinator of the Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition. Fri., June 23, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information, call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE MEETINGS. Every Sunday night at 7 p.m. All campaign supporters are welcome. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opposite South Station).

VOICES OF DISSENT. History of American Protest Music: Part II. Wed., June 21 at 8 p.m. on **WTBS-FM, 88.1.** Sat., June 24 at 8 p.m. on **WBUR-FM, 90.9.**

CHICAGO

STUDIES IN REVOLUTION. Chicago Socialist Summer School. June 12-Aug. 3. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Preregistration fee, including all classes and special weekend events, \$8. Individual sessions, 50c. Special weekend sessions, \$1. For more information, call (312) 641-0147.

DETROIT

HOOR OF THE FURNACES, Part 1. Film on the present struggles in South America. Fri., June 23. 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (313) 831-6135.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held every Tuesday and Thursday, 7:30-9:30 p.m., June 6-July 27. All sessions in the University Center at the University of Houston. Information and class schedules at Pathfinder Bookstore, 6405 Lyons Ave. Classes include: The Materialist Conception of History, The Role of the Individual in History, Marxian Economics, The Communist Manifesto, The Transitional Program, and The Popular Front vs. the United Front. For more information, call (713) 673-9445.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

CHILE: A VIEW FROM THE LEFT. Speakers: Jim Petras, author of many books on Latin America, recently returned from Chile; Peter Camejo, author of *Allende's Chile: Is it Going Socialist?*, national chairman Socialist Workers Party '72 Campaign; Stephen Torgoff, staff writer for the *Guardian*. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. New York University, 121 Meyer Bldg. (at 4 Washington Place). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. NYU Young Socialist Alliance. For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

BUILDING A LENINIST PARTY IN AMERICA. A series of classes sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. 50c per class or \$6 for entire summer school. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (4th St.). For more information, call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., June 21: From Lenin to Stalin. Teacher: Dan Rosenshine.

Wed., June 28: The Downfall of the Communist International. Teacher: Dan Rosenshine.

PORTLAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 208 S.W. Stark St. Room 201. Admission: \$7.50 for entire summer school or 50c per class. Ausp. Socialist Work-

ers Party. For more information, call (503) 226-2715. Tues., June 27. 7 p.m.: The Nature of the State. Teacher: Phil Hardy.

Thurs., June 29. 7 p.m.: The Russian Revolution. Teacher: Peter Graumann.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. A discussion of the revolutionary movements in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Fri., June 23, 8 p.m. 2338 Market St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum. For more information, call (415) 626-9958.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN GOURMET BARBEQUE. Special guest speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president. Fri., June 23, 6 p.m. Chi Psi House, 4600 22 Ave. N.E. Donation: \$2.50 general, \$1.50 h.s. students. For more information, call (206) LA3-2555.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

MARXIST RADIO COMMENTARY. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly 15-minute radio program, 11:15 a.m. every Wednesday, KPFC-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Studies in Revolution. June 8-Aug. 6. Classes on Monday and Thursday evenings at 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Minneapolis. Opening series of classes on The Soviet Union and World Revolution—An Assessment of Stalinism. Thurs., June 22. The Rise of Fascism in Germany. Teacher: Bill Onash.

Classes to follow: A Marxist Approach to the Labor Movement, The Transitional Program, The Permanent Revolution and Nationalism, Socialist Electoral Strategy, and The Leninist Concept of Party Organization.

Admission: \$7.50 for entire summer school or 50c per class. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance. Telephone: (612) 332-7781.

DINNER AND PROGRAM CELEBRATING PUBLICATION OF "TEAMSTER REBELLION." Featured speakers: Farrell Dobbs, Marvel Scholl, Harry DeBoer, and Jake Cooper. Sat., June 24. 5:30 p.m.: Social hour. 6:30 p.m.: Dinner. 7:30 p.m.: Program. 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin), Minneapolis. Donation: \$3. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party. For more information, call (612) 332-7781.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Classified

PAMPHLETS

OVERSTOCK SALE: Five pamphlets (regularly \$5) all for \$2.50. "The Cultural Revolution: A Marxist Analysis," "Fascism in America," "Song for Che," "Arab-Israeli Socialist Debate," and "Five Cuban Poets." Order, or request free complete catalog, from TIMES CHANGE PRESS, Penwell—MM, Washington, N.J. 07882.

...Women

Continued from page 4

patriarchal class society, prejudices that are used to justify the oppression of women in all other spheres of their lives.

The depth of opposition to this issue is reflected by the fact that none of the Democratic or Republican party presidential candidates, with the exception of Shirley Chisholm, supports the right of women to abortion.

The only thing the government is going to listen to is 'power—just as it listened to the power of the anti-abortion forces that marched 10,000-strong down Fifth Avenue. This means that WONAAC's perspective of attempting to unite all sections of the women's movement in common action is crucial. The power that can win the right to abortion is in the masses of women for whom that right will mean a step toward control of their own destinies.

...Chile

Continued from page 5

President Allende and the program of Popular Unity we will defeat the provocations of the extreme right and the extreme left."

The same day the CP issued its statement, the far left staged a three-and-a-half hour march through downtown Santiago. The Santiago paper *El Mercurio* called it "massive and disciplined." Demonstrators, "many of them twelve years old or thereabouts," shouted slogans against the war in Vietnam, in protest of the murder of Eliado Caamaño, and demanding the nationalization of industries without compensation.

The demonstration was sponsored by the MIR, the FER (Frente de Estudiantes Revolucionarios—Front of Revolutionary Students), the FTR (Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios—Front of Revolutionary Workers), the Spartacus group (to which the dead student had belonged), and other far-left groups.

In the province of Cautin, a group of around one hundred peasants who were heading for the hospital in Lautaro on May 16 to protest the lack of medical care were shot at by Carabineers. The assault on the peasants, many of whom were women and children, left several wounded. Two, according to the *Punto Final* report, remain in serious condition. "The agricultural workers are holding the gov-

ernor of Lautaro, Alfonso Neira, a member of the Communist party, responsible for the repression."

At the same time as these events have been occurring, the Christian Democrats are pushing a bill submitted by a right-wing senator belonging to that party that would make the armed forces directly responsible for the control of arms in the hands of the public and for the prosecution under military law of "armed groups." The bill is a direct challenge to Allende and the ministry of the interior, over which the Popular Unity coalition has control.

In his speech to Congress May 21 on the state of the nation, Allende sharply criticized the MIR and charged that the group was "in a potentially conflictive position toward the government." The Chilean president, reported Agence France-Presse, "indicated that he was firmly resolved not to give in to the pressures of the far left, which wants to see his regime move in a more radical direction."

...LRUP

Continued from page 24

a total of \$3,500.

The increased turnout at the convention and the success of the petition drive caused Gutiérrez to state before the entire body, "From what I see here today, it gives me great pride to tell Mario Compean I was wrong. You were right [in favoring the formation of a statewide party]." Gutiérrez was referring to his opposition to the RUP going statewide at the Oct. 31 convention. Compean, who led those favoring a statewide party, carried that convention.

The gathering ended with a feeling of unity and optimism about the coming months of campaigning.

BOOKS

Radical Labor History

Autobiography of Mother Jones

Foreword by Clarence Darrow. New introduction and bibliography by Fred Thompson. Paper \$2.95. Cloth \$7.50.

The Pullman Strike

By William Carwardine. Reprint of 1894 edition. Paper \$2.50. Cloth \$7.95.

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ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, c/o Richard Rathens, P.O. Box 5377, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35406.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, P.O. Box 750, Tempe, Ariz. 85001. Tel: (602) 968-5738.

Tucson: YSA, 410 N. 4th Ave., Tucson, Ariz. 85705.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Bob Secor, 3702 T St., Sacramento, Calif. 95815.

San Diego: YSA, P.O. Box 15186, San Diego, Calif. 92115.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Greta Schiller, 685 Menker #4, San Jose, Calif. 95128. Tel: (408) 275-8453.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Ann Hyink, 344 Barneson Ave., San Mateo, Calif. 94402.

Santa Barbara: YSA, Box 14126, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107. Tel: (805) 968-4086.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, c/o Randy Erb, 114 Huntington St., Hartford, Conn. 06105.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Bill Boyd, 514 N. Bronough, Tallahassee, Fla. 32301.

Tampa: Socialist Workers Campaign '72 c/o David Maynard, P.O. Box 702, 4100 Fletcher Ave., Tampa, Fla. 33612.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor, SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o John Center, 1407 Schnider Hall, Bush Towers, Carbondale, Ill. 62901. Tel: (618) 453-5882.

Chicago: SWP, YSA and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

DeKalb: YSA, c/o Student Activities Center, Northern Illinois U, DeKalb, Ill. 60115. Tel: (815) 753-0510 (day); (815) 758-2935 (night).

Macomb: YSA, c/o Lynn Lloyd, 809 Corbin, Macomb, Ill. 61455.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Gary: c/o Cartwright, 123 W. Indiana, Chesterton, Ind. 46304.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Baton Rouge: YSA, c/o Craig Biggio, P.O. Box 18250, Baton Rouge, La. 70803. Tel: (504) 388-1517.

MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; and Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, P.O. Box 408, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107. Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, P.O. Box 14, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: Wayne: YSA, c/o Clyde Magarelli, William-Paterson College of N.J., 300 Pompton Rd., Wayne, N.J. 07470.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Vivian Abeles, 3807 Thaxton S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87108. Tel: (505) 268-1541.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

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THE MILITANT

Texas Raza Unida Party maps statewide election campaign

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—Some 500 cheering delegates and observers at the Texas statewide Raza Unida Party convention meeting here June 10 heard José Angel Gutiérrez announce that party supporters successfully collected more than 23,000 signatures to qualify the Chicano party on the Texas ballot.

Gutiérrez added that although they had surpassed the required 22,358 signatures, the party would shoot for 40,000 to ensure ballot status.

A national Raza Unida Party conference to be held Sept. 1-4 in El Paso, Texas, was projected by Gutiérrez. The agenda will include discussion on "national strategy" and "Chicano priorities."

In a keynote address to the convention, Gutiérrez outlined a perspective for the Raza Unida Party in the 1972 elections. He pointed to the close votes in the last few presidential and state elections. He explained that this was because "you can't tell what comes out of the mouth of one Democrat from what comes out of the mouth of a Republican. . . . In Texas," he said, "the margin of difference has been under 40,000 votes."

Gutiérrez said that if the Texas RUP could organize 40,000 votes it would have the "balance of power" in Texas and could affect the outcome of the state and national elections. The way to use this power, he maintained, is

to make demands on the Democratic Party presidential nominee and on Nixon. Presumably, these Chicano voters would then support whichever candidate makes the best promises. What demands would be made were not specified.

However, Gutiérrez also assailed critics who have slandered the RUP by claiming that it "is in the business of electing Republicans. . . ." He asked rhetorically, "Are we trying only to be on the ballot so we can elect Republicans?" He stated, "There isn't a germ of truth in that. It hasn't been and it isn't going to be. . . . We're not in the business of electing Democrats either. We're in the business of electing ourselves."

Gutiérrez made a blistering attack on Hubert Humphrey and Shirley Chisholm. "Humpty-Dumpty went into California saying that under no circumstances would he take George Wallace even for a car ride. He comes out of California [saying] 'Yes' to George Wallace [as a vice-presidential running mate] under special circumstances. That is a hypocrite. . . . That is a prostitute. Shirley Chisholm, the Black lady, going to visit George Wallace to see him wiggle his toes! That's hypocrisy!"

No mention was made of McGovern, whose visit to Wallace was publicized the day after the convention. Gutiérrez told *The Militant* that had he known about McGovern's visit, "I

would have included him too."

Gutiérrez predicted a large vote for the RUP gubernatorial candidate, Ramsey Muñiz. He said that Muñiz could win if the RUP could convince Anglos, Blacks, some of the labor unions, teachers, and professionals that "there is no future for this state by electing another, yet another, millionaire, backward rancher like Dolph Briscoe [Democratic candidate for governor of Texas]."

The main agenda points were the election of state officers; reports from the finance, rules, and platform committees; and the nomination of statewide candidates. Mario Compean was elected state chairman. He had been designated temporary state chairman last October.

Nominated for statewide offices were Ramsey Muñiz for governor; Alma Canales for lieutenant governor; Flores Amaya for U.S. senator; Fred Garza for railroad commissioner; and Rubén Solís for state treasurer.

Scores of Raza Unida Party local candidates and elected officials were given warm greetings by the convention.

Discussion on the party platform was tabled since suggestions and additions to the preliminary program adopted last October had not yet been incorporated into the platform.

An impromptu fund-raising session following the financial report raised

Continued on page 22

25,000 hospital workers rally

By JENNIFER SIMPSON

NEW YORK CITY, June 13—Twenty to twenty-five thousand hospital workers staged a five-hour walkout in 43 of the city's hospitals and nursing homes today. They were protesting the deadlocked contract negotiations, which are currently being subjected to binding arbitration.

Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union led the walkout. The union has refused to go along with the arbitration proceedings and called the job action despite a court order barring it.

Management and the news media used traditional scare tactics, telling the public that the walkout would cause the deaths of innocent people. Hospital administrators also threatened "severe disciplinary action" against workers who participated.

The action was not intended to cripple any hospital but simply to show management exactly who runs the hospitals. It gave the administrators a view of the situation they will face July 1 unless they are able to agree on a decent contract.

The union is demanding a 15 percent or \$25-a-week pay increase in the first year of the new contract. So far the Hospital Corporation's only answer has been the insulting offer of \$6 over three years.

Most of the day crew and many of the night crew filed out of the hos-

Mass murder of Hutu rebels is result of neocolonialism

By MARCEL BLACK

In a development similar to the Pakistani massacre of millions of Bengalis, more than 120,000 members of the Hutu people of the African nation of Burundi have been murdered by the forces of Burundi President Michel Micombero since the end of April. Tens of thousands of Hutus have fled to the neighboring countries of Zaire and Tanzania.

Burundi's population was estimated at 3.5 million in 1970. Its standard of living is among the lowest in Africa. Its people live by farming, and coffee, cotton, and hides are the major exports.

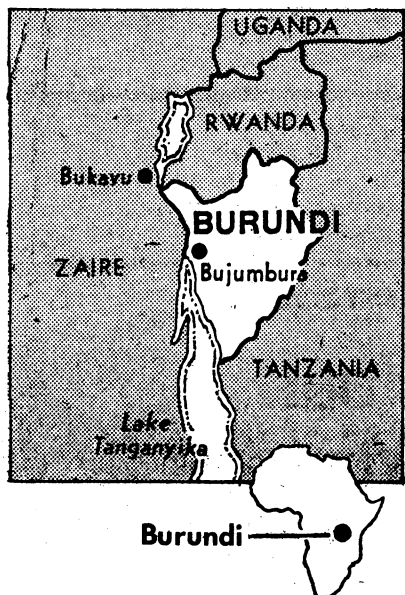
Burundi's social structure is dominated by the oppression of the Hutu people (more than 85 percent of the population) by the ruling minority of the Tutsi people. The Hutus work the land, either as sharecroppers or as tenants of the Tutsis. This social structure has existed for centuries, including the period of Belgian occupation that began during World War I.

In 1966 Micombero, then the commander of the Burundi army, staged a coup against King Ntare. Both were members of the Tutsi people. Earlier this year, Micombero allowed Ntare to return from exile, which led to increased agitation for Ntare's return to power. Ntare was supported by sections of the Hutus. On April 29, according to Micombero's government, there was an unsuccessful attempt to place Ntare in power, during which Ntare was killed.

A revolt of the Hutus followed. Micombero and his supporters have

claimed that the revolt was for the restoration of the monarchy and that it was backed by imperialism. However, the June 4 *New York Times* reports that in actuality the Hutus took "advantage of the general confusion, [and] launched an insurrection of their own."

No clear report of the Hutu demands has been made known, but it is obvious that they are directed against the centuries of oppression and exploitation they have faced from the Tutsis. The brutal massacre of the Hutus by the Tutsi, like the Pakistani attempt to exterminate the Bengalis, was based on the desire of an oppressing minority to maintain its power over the masses of the oppressed majority.



According to a dispatch from Bukavu, Zaire, in the June 3 *New York Times*, "Reprisals by the Tutsis . . . have not let up. . . . The army, the police, the party and youth movement—all Tutsi-controlled—are said to be taking the law into their own hands."

The same dispatch quoted a missionary who had just returned from Burundi as saying, "They are trying to annihilate all the Hutu intellectuals." The missionary added, "Any Hutu who can write his name is considered an intellectual and a threat to the government."

The imperialist powers and press are saying this struggle is a sign of "tribalism" in Africa. But this grizzly struggle, like those in Biafra and Bangladesh, is clearly a result of the colonial and neocolonial regimes that have dominated Burundi.

The oppression of the Hutu people was maintained throughout Belgian rule, and when independence was granted, no serious attempt was made to challenge the Tutsi supremacy. In fact, Belgium has paid 25 percent of the budget of the Tutsi-dominated government since Burundi achieved independence in 1962. The Belgian-dominated regime in Zaire has sent troops to aid Micombero in his massacre.

The depths to which the Tutsi butchers have gone is yet another sign that the solution of Africa's basic democratic problems—such as freeing oppressed peoples and giving land to those who work it—can be gained only through a socialist revolution that would put the workers, the poor farmers, and the oppressed peoples into power.



Member of N.Y. Local 1199 at June 13 strike rally.

pitals to attend the mass rally. Skeleton crews remained on the job to assure emergency coverage. The huge crowd assembled at Foley Square and marched to City Hall, the site of the rally. Local 1199 President Leon Davis, Doris Turner (head of the union's hospital division), and several rank-and-file members addressed the enthusiastic rally.

One of the high points of the rally came during Davis's speech. He dared the hospitals to open their books to the public to show whether workers' wages are really responsible for the high cost of hospital care, as management claims.

In concluding his speech Davis said, "No one is going to force a contract down our throats, not the mayor, not the governor, and not the president."

At the close of the rally, officers of the union asked if members would pledge to keep up the fight until a good contract is won. The crowd answered with a chorus of "ayes."